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COLLECTION OF SRI NIRANJANA RAJ URS

ONE RARE BOOK BY TITLE "HISTORY

OF MYSORE AND THE YADAVA DYNASTY" BY

G.R. JOSYER. PUBLISHED IN 1929-39.

PRODUCED BY NIRANJANA RAJ URS OF

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BY

G. R. JOSYER,

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PREFACE

In the following pages the History of Mysore from early times, and its progress under the Yadava Dynasty of Kings are recorded, so as to give the reader a composite picture of the State, its Rulers, and its people. Elaborate Histories of Mysore there are, but they are cluttered up with details, or are not easy to read. This book seeks to present the whole handily and readably.

Mysore's progress under the Yadava Dynasty has been phenomenal and spectacular, and has been widely acclaimed. In view of the new epoch which has been heralded in the State a photostat record of the past was deemed appropriate, and has resulted in this book.

G. R. JOSYER.

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HISTORY OF MYSORE

THE DIM PAST

I

Every plot of the Earth has got its merits, and every region of the globe has got its history, lost in the oblivion of the past but nevertheless true. The sequence, of original forests, followed by the birth of semi-naked hunting aborigines, the rise of their pastoral and agricultural descendants, and the growth of townships and Kingships, and conquests and defeats, the stone age, iron age, and steam age, is the favourite theme of the usual scholar and historian.

Only the Sun and Moon know the true historical vicissitudes of a region from the primeval past through all the succeeding ravages of man and time. Poor mortals can only see a little into the immediate past, and dub it as the whole of history. Beyond that they see and know nothing, and are blissful in their ignorance.

Twelve million years ago the Colorado river cut through the soil of Mexico forming the Grand Canyon, whose sides show to the scientist like a book the successive layers of geological formation which nature's foreman, time, and his workmen, the elements, have built up in the course of two million million years.

According to Sir James Jeans, the scientist, "The Grand Canyon is a geologist's paradise. It slices deep

into the terrestrial surface to present a huge cross-section of the two million year record of earth's formation. No where else in the world is there such a comprehensive series of rock-layers so clearly demonstrating the slow, vast processes that shaped the peaks and valleys now inhabited by man. Mountains were made and eroded level. Then the land sank, and for long ages shallow oceans deposited mud and sand in layers thousands of feet thick. This material hardened into rock, which finally rose in a great plateau high above sea-level. Through this plateau of marine deposits the Colorado river twelve million years ago began cutting the present canyon. Consequently, as geology reckons time, the canyon is very youthful. The immensity of geologic time is something like New York's tallest sky-scraper. The age of the Grand Canyon would then comprise the height of one window. Man's whole span of existence would equal only the thickness of a nickel perched on the sky-scraper's top, and his entire recorded history of about 7,000 years would be no more than the thin edge of a sheet of paper on top of that!"

The history of Mysore during these two million million years must be a historian's dream. It would require divine powers to visualise and portray it in words. We can only pick up a few pearls and nuggets of tradition and records which catch our eye in the darkness, and present them, in a proper setting and with due embellishment of words, so as to attract and interest the average reader.

To trace that history from 1799 or 1600 or 1399 as though the land had just come into being then, is like painting only the head, or half-bust, or bust of a person, and not a life-size portrait. They are but epochal points in Mysore History and do not form its whole history.

Just as a vineyard puts out leaves, flowers and fruits in one season and becomes a bare wilderness in the next, and later again comes to life with the change of seasons, so in a State civilizations rise during peace and vanish when some fiendish invader pillages it from one end to the other. Then one or two seasons of rain and storm will wipe out every vestige of the past, and leave a clean slate for the commencement of the next epoch. The ordinary historian can only see the last few of these epochs. Only a seer, a Vasishtha, a Vyasa, can visualise the earliest ones. This is true of Mysore, as of India, or Central Asia, or Mexico, or any other part of the globe.

For instance, the Todas or buffalo-worshippers of Nilgiris must have been original settlers of Mysore who were driven out by Sakti worshippers whose protective Goddess was Chamundi. Of them Colonel Marshall writes, " In the process of writing of them I have grown to the very strong conviction that the people are a surviving sample of some portion of the Turanian race when in its primitive stage. Without much exercise of the imagination, I can picture the contemporaries and neighbours, even perhaps the ancestors of races of South-western Asia which have made a figure in early history.

There is much of the blameless Ethyopian about them; something of the Jew and Chaldean in their appearance." Which century of the pre-Christian era they came to Mysore who can dogmatise?

So far as the present area of Mysore is concerned it was fixed in 1799 at the redistribution of territories after the Fourth Mysore War. But the region comprised within the area had a history as old as its hills. The pleasantest description of it that we have seen comes from the lucid and fertile pen of Lewis Rice:

"If there be any truth in the observation that small countries with diversified and distinctive characteristics have played the greatest part in the world's history, and given rise to its most distinguished men, Greece, Palestine, England, and others being quoted as instances, Mysore may fairly claim a place in the category. Not only does she abound in the picturesque features of lofty mountains and primeval forests, of notable rivers and mighty cataracts; but to mention only a few of the products specially pertaining to her, she yields by far the most gold of any country in India, and her treasure in the past, carried off to the north by the Musalman invaders, may have found its way to Central Asia among the spoils of Tartar hordes. She is the peculiar home of the sandal and also of teak, a special haunt of the elephant, rears a famous and superior breed of a horned cattle, supplies as the staple food of the people the nutrient grain of ragi, was the cradle in India, and is still the chief garden for coffee cultivation."

Thus in every department of the natural world she may claim some pre-eminence. In the fine arts she has produced marvellous examples of architecture and sculpture. In relation to humanity again, she has been to the two greatest Hindu reformers, a home for the one and an asylum to the other. Nearly every form of faith, from Buddhism and Jainism to Islam, has here had its day, and she is now known as having largely adopted and still strongly holding a special cult of native origin not conforming to Brahminism. The malnad region of Mysore has been the birth-place of royal races, dominant in the south, the Kadamba, the Hoysala, and perhaps also the Vijayanagar sovereigns. In modern times the great General of the age, the Iron Duke, learned in the Malnad wilds of Mysore, no less than in the plains of the Deccan, those lessons of warfare which enabled him to end the ambitious career of the subjugator of Europe, who once thought to make an ally of Mysore and to conquer the East.

No wonder then that in times past Mysore was the favoured haunt of people from the North, be they sages, saints, emigrants, or warriors beset on conquest. Part of the immortal Ramayana story is laid in Mysore. Rama the magnificent, Rama the personification of virtue, Rama the solace of millions of Hindus in each generation throughout the land, passed through Mysore on his way to the South, and it was in the North-west of Mysore, near Kadur, that he made friends with the valorous monkeys by whose aid he destroyed Ravana.

The story of the great sage Agastya being sought to be killed by the demon brothers, Vatapi and Ilwala, is located near Nelamangala in Bangalore District. Yelwal near Mysore is said to derive its name from the demon Ilwala. Gowtama the great sage and logician has left his name to an Asrama on the banks of the Cauvery near Seringapatam. Sage Kanva in whose hermitage Kalidasa's sweet heroine Sakuntala grew into sweet maidenhood, meditated on the banks of the Kanva river near Malur. There King Dushyanta met the sylvan maiden and married for love: and sage Kanva's parting scene with his foster-daughter in Kalidasa's drama is poetry verging on music.

The epic legend of Parasurama whose father, sage Jamadagni, was insulted and murdered by valiant and covetous Karthaveeryarjuna and his sons, and in revenge Parasurama, the axe-weaponed, went round the country twenty-one times annihilating Kings, is also associated with spots in Mysore. Sorab was the seat of Jamadagni, the temple of Renuka, in honour of his wife, is at Chandragutti, Kartaveeryarjuna was slain near Kolar, and Hiremagalur in Kadur District commemorates the valour of Parasurama.

In the Mahabharata period the Pandavas are said to have spent part of their exile in the regions of Shimoga. Arjuna is claimed to have married Chitrangada, daughter of the King of Manipura near Chamarajanagar. Later, coming that way with the sacrificial horse before the Aswamedha Yaga, his unknown son, valiant Babhruvahana, captured the horse and gave him fight.

Those of us who are inclined to boast of the civilization of the present and look upon the past as dark ages might well ponder over the description of Babhruvahana's Kingdom: "It was preeminently a land of beauty, valour, virtue, truth. Its wealth was fabulous and its happiness that of paradise. It was filled with people, and not a single measure of land was unoccupied or waste. Of Solomon in all his glory it is stated that he made silver and gold at Jerusalem as plenteous as stones. So here thousands of chariots, elephants and horses were employed in bringing the revenue in gold and silver to a thousand treasuries; and the officers sat day and night to receive it. One Raja confessed that he sent a thousand cartloads of gold and silver every year merely for leave to remain quietly in his own Kingdom!"

That is a vision of ancient Mysore!

Arjuna's great-grandson, Janamejaya to whom the Mahabharata was recited, is said to have performed his Serpent Sacrifice at Hiremagalur in Kadur District. The Bheemanakatte Mutt at Tirthahalli owns a grant made by him.

With the invasion of India by Alexander in 327 B.C. we see the dawn of what may be called modern Indian history. His Governor sent the famous ambassador Megasthenes to the court of Chandragupta at Patna. Founder of the Mouryan Dynasty, Chandragupta ruled from 316 to 292 B.C., and then renounced his Kingdom and took holy orders. He was a jain, and as a great

famine swept over Northern India, he accompanied his guru, Bhadrabahu, and a mass of emigrants to the south. Reaching the pleasant and beautiful Sravanabelagula in the Hassan District, Bhadrabahu felt his end approach, fixed his camp there, and let the others proceed farther south. Chandragupta also stayed behind, and both ended their days there. We find to-day a Bhadrabahu cave and a Chandragupta basti on Chandragiri at Sravanabelagula, and stone inscriptions commemorating their lives.

Mysore comes into the picture again during the reign of Emperor Asoka, a Buddhist, who sent missionaries in 244 B.C. to propagate Buddhism at Banavasi in Northern Mysore. Three of his inscriptions have been discovered in Chitaldrug District.

Asoka was at first a Jain, and according to his 13th rock edict the slaughter and devastation during his conquest of Kalinga brought on remorse and effected his conversion to Buddhism. The lessons inculcated in his edicts are noteworthy. "Thus says the beloved of the Gods: 'Obedience should be rendered to mother and father. So also regard for living creatures should be made firm. Truth should be spoken. These and other virtues of the *Dharma* should be practised. So also the disciple should honour his teacher, and due respect should be paid to kindred. This is the ancient natural way. This also tends to long life, and should be faithfully practised'."

Early in the Christian Era the Satavahana dynasty held sway over Northern Mysore. Buddhist leaden coins found near Chandravally in Chitaldrug District, and inscriptions found in Banavasi in Sorab Taluk and at Malavally in Mandya District bear testimony to their occupation.

About the fifth century sovereignty over Mysore territory rested with three dynasties; the north was under the Pallavas in the eastern side, and the Kadambas in the western side. The centre and the south were under the Ganga dynasty.

Three centuries later the picture presented was of the Gangas in the south, the Rashtrakootas in the north, and the Pallavas reduced to a fraction in the east.

Later still, about 1050 A.D. the Gangas have given place to the Cholas and become their dependents, the Hoysalas occupy the west-centre, and the Chalukyas reign over the north and north-west.

And five centuries later, the map presents the picture of a parti-coloured quilt, twenty chieftains ruling over twenty independent strips of the State, with mutual dissensions as during the period of Heptarchy in England. We may sum up the history of these ten centuries in the following small compass :

The Kadamba dynasty of west Mysore have been mentioned by Ptolemy, the most famous of early geographers and astronomers, and in the Buddhist record, *Mahavamsa* in the time of Asoka in the 3rd

century B. C. It was also one of the Kadambas, Chandravarma II, who was the progenitor of the Kodaga or Coorg race. Another of the line, Mayuravarma is stated to have introduced Brahmin colonists from Ahichchatra or Rohilkhund, and divided the country below the ghats into 64 portions and settled the colonists on them. They however attempted to leave the country at the time of his son, but were brought back, and in order to prevent repetition of the attempt, and for purpose of identification, they were made to leave unshorn a lock of hair on their forehead as a distinguishing mark.

The Mahavali Kings were of ancient origin, ruling over a seven and a half lakh country, or 12000 villages of the Andhra country including the east of Mysore.

The Pallava Kings were first at Badami in Bijapur District, and being expelled by the Chalukyas made Kanchi their Capital. Their names were alternately Shaiva and Vaishnava, and some of them Buddhist. The remarkable buildings and structures at Mahabalipuram or seven Pagodas near Madras also relate to the three faiths.

Hiuen Tsang, the second famous Chinese traveller, visited their capital and says of it, "It is five miles round. The soil is fertile and regularly cultivated. The climate is hot, the character of the people courageous. They are deeply attached to the principles of honesty and truth, and highly esteemed for learning. There are

10000 Buddhist priests, 80 Brahmin temples, and many Jains." This was in A.D. 640.

There is a report that in A.D. 788 a great religious discussion took place between the Buddhists and Jains at Kanchi in the presence of King Hemasitala, who was a Buddhist. The Jains were victorious, and the Buddhists, in lieu of being ground in oil-mills as per terms of the contest, were banished to Candy in Ceylon, the King embracing the Jain faith.

The Ganga Kings are mentioned by Ptolemy, and the Romans Valerius Flaccus and Curtius. They were a northern dynasty, one of whom came to Perur in Cuddappa District, and met a sage by name Simhanandi, who by his spiritual influence aided them to establish a kingdom. He gave them the following interesting counsel: "If you fail in what you promise, if you dissent from the Jaina sasana, if you take the wives of others, if you are addicted to spirits or flesh, if you associate with the base, if you give not to the needy, if you will flee in the battle, your race will go to ruin."

One of the Ganga Kings, Kiriya Madhava of the 2nd century A.D. wrote a commentary on *Dattaka sutra* or Law of Adoption. It was his son Harivarma who established his capital at Talkad in Mysore District about 255 A.D. Another, Durvinita, had for his preceptor the celebrated Jain grammarian, Pujyapada author of 'Sabdavatara'. He wrote a commentary on Bharavi's famous Sanskrit poem, and is also mentioned by Nripatunga as one of the early Kannada authors.

It was during the rule of Rachamalla Ganga in 933 A.D. that his minister, Chamundaraya, caused the colossal statue of Gomatheswara 57 feet high, to be erected at Sravanabelgola by the sculptor Arishtonemi. The Duke of Wellington who commanded a division at the siege of Seringapatam was astonished at the amount of labour such a work must have entailed, and puzzled to know whether it was part of the hill or had been removed to the spot where it now stands. Whether however the rock was found *in situ* or was moved, nothing grander or more imposing exists anywhere out of Egypt, and even there no known statue surpasses it in height.

The end of the Ganga dynasty is rather gruesome. Gangaraja II who had his capital at Sivasamudram, married two daughters of his to two minor chieftains. The daughters' contemptuous treatment of their husbands provoked them to lay siege to the father-in-law's capital in order to humiliate him. The siege lasted twelve years, but without success. Then the King's General turned traitor. Thereupon the King drew his sword, killed all his women and children, and rushing amidst his enemies fought to the very death. The sons-in-law, on seeing this, threw themselves into the cataract at Ganganachukki. Their wives also followed them and ended their lives !

The Rashtrakutas ruled over the north-west of Mysore from Malkhet in the late Nizam's dominions. Nripatunga who ruled from 815 to 877 A.D. was a

scholar, Jinasenacharya, author of "Adipurana" being his preceptor. Nripatunga was the author of "Kavirajamarga", the earliest known work on metrical composition in Kannada. He gives a glowing account of the country and the culture of the people. "The region which extends from the Cauvery to the Godavary is the country in which Kannada is spoken, the most beautiful land in the circle of the earth. Apt are the people of the land in speaking as if accustomed to verse, clever in truth are they. Not only students but others are all skilful in their speech."

The Vijayanagar Kingdom took birth in 1336 A.D. with the aid of Madhavacharya, who was the illustrious religious head of Sringeri Mutt from 1331 to 1386. His equally illustrious brother Sayana, the commentator of the Vedas, was the minister of one of the Vijayanagar Kings. Bukkaraya was ruling from Hosur in Goribidnur taluk and reconciled Jains and Vaishnavas by "taking the hand of the Jains and placing it in the hand of the Vaishnavas". His son governed in the south of Mysore.

Simultaneously with the birth of the Vijayanagar Kingdom, the Moslem Bahmany Kingdom came into existence at Bijapur, and the constant feuds that raged between the two Kingdoms caused untold hardship to the people of both. "The Raja put all the inhabitants to the sword." "The Sultan swore that he would not rest till he had killed a hundred thousand of the infidels". The Raja was worsted, and an indiscrimi-

nate massacre of men, women and children continued." "Unable to effect anything against the Raja's capital, he laid waste all the adjacent country. Whenever the number of slain came to 20,000, he halted for three days and made a feast!", says an account of the times.

That was five centuries ago. That the same things should have happened in Indo-Pakistan Dominions in the year of grace 1948 shows the fundamental unchangeability of human nature.

Lest readers should think that those were barbarous primitive times far below our own material and mental standards, we may present two contemporary opinions about them. Abdul Razak, Ambassador from Persia to the Court of Devaraya at Vijayanagar in 1441 wrote, "There I saw a city exceedingly large and populous, and a King of great power and dominion extending from the borders of Sarndip to those of Gulberga, and from Bengal to Malabar. The country is for the most part well cultivated and fertile, and about 300 good sea-ports belong to it. There are more than 1,000 elephants, lofty as the hills, and gigantic as demons. The army consists of eleven lakhs of men. In the whole of Hindustan there is no Rai more absolute than himself. The Brahmins are held by him in higher estimation than all other men. In the King's treasury there are chambers with excavations in them filled with molten gold forming one mass!"

A later visitor, Edourdo Barbessa, Portuguese traveller of 1516, describes Vijayanagar as of great

extent, highly populous, and the seat of an active commerce in country diamonds, rubies from Pegu, silks of China and Alexandria, and cinnabar, camphor, musk, pepper and sandal from Malabar.

During the 15th and 16th centuries the Vijayanagar Kings had bestowed or confirmed on vassal chiefs tracts in Mysore on the condition of payment of tribute and rendering military service. Those in the northern parts were controlled from the capital. Those in the southern parts were placed under a Viceroy with headquarters at Seringapatam. The chiefs in the north were the Naiks of Bidnur, Basavapatna and Chitaldrug, on the west the Naiks of Balam, in the centre the Naiks of Hagalvadi and Gowdas of Yelahanka and Ballapur, on the east the Gowda of Sugatur, and in the south the Wodayars of Mysore, Kalale, Ummattur, Yelandur and others.

THE DIM PAST

II

In the later chapters we shall deal with the growth of the Mysore Wodayars or the Yadava Dynasty, whose long career was no less spectacular and brilliant than that of the Vijayanagar Kings, and no less replete with fearsome vicissitudes. But so far we have dealt mostly with the politics of the earlier thousand years. But the growth of the humanities during that fertile period, and the contribution of kings and subjects in the fields of religion, arts and letters are not such as to be ignored. They are of surpassing interest, and deserve careful and respectful, though brief, survey.

Serpent worship among the common people was of immemorial antiquity. There is scarcely a village which has not effigies of the serpent carved in stone. Mariamma, the Deity whose frown brought smallpox and other fell diseases has long been the universal object of rural worship. With the migration of the sages and other Vedic and Puranic Aryans from the North Brahmanic Hinduism became the religion of a section of the population.

Jainism must have taken root in the country from the time of the advent of Bhadrabahu and ex-emperor Chandragupta in the third century B.C. It attained considerable power and became the State religion during the first thousand years of the Christian era, till the

advent of Shankaracharya in the 9th century, and the conversion of the Hoysala King Vishnuvardhana by Ramanujacharya in the twelfth century.

The oldest Kannada and Tamil literature is of Jain authorship. The moral code of Jainism consists of five great duties, refraining from injury to life, uttering truth, practising honesty, maintaining chastity, and relinquishing worldly desires. They must practise liberality, gentleness, piety and penance, and scrupulous avoidance of destruction, as fundamental tenets.

That Buddhism came into Mysore under Asoka in the third century B.C. is well-known, but it does not seem to have made much headway as against Jainism. There was however a Buddhalaya at Balagami in Shimoga District.

Gowtama, the founder of Buddhism, was a Prince of Kapilavastu, to the south of Nepal. Early in life he was struck by the evanescence of happiness and proneness of human life to misery, and forsaking his family went out to the forest for contemplation. At the age of 37 he began his teachings in Behar, and propagated them for 45 years.

His principal commandments corresponded to those of Jainism, against killing, stealing, adultery, intoxication, and lying. Deliverance came from the renunciation of children, wife, goods, life and self, and the practice of celebacy, mendicancy, and strict discipline. According to one writer, " Buddhism was a revolt of the religion of humanity against the ritualism and asceticism, the

lifeless superstition and arrogant pretensions of the Brahmanical priesthood."

That is a thoughtless and blind dictum. Buddha's revolt was a revolt against the miseries of life, and not against Brahmanism. He was a young prince of acute sensibility, and had no knowledge of Brahmanism. Had he known it, he would have found the solution therein. But he retired to the forest, and on attaining mental equilibrium he drew conclusions which combined the moral code of Jainism and the asceticism of Brahmanism. And after all, the moral code of Hinduism is the same as that of Mohammadanism or of Christianity. If Buddha had been a Brahmin apostate who had founded a new religion, one could have described it as a revolt. But there is nothing in his biography to show that he had studied Brahmanism and been revolted by it. His asceticism was no different from Brahmin asceticism. Therefore to talk of "arrogant pretensions of Brahmanical priesthood" is an arrogant misconception.

In the 8th century the great Advaitic Philosopher, Sankara, established a Mutt at Sringeri, which became a strong seat of Brahmanic propaganda in this territory. Born in 737 A.D. in Malabar, Sankaracharya before long became a scholar, thinker, and expounder of unparalleled magnificence. His philosophical compositions and devotional hymns, and his propagandist achievements through the length and breadth of India within a brief span of 32 years make him one of the greatest personages of the world for all time. Basing his teachings on the Vedas and Upanishads, he maintained that the

Supreme Being was the only entity, that the work-a-day world around us is a mirage arising from our ignorance, and that by faith, purity, and devotion we should seek Divine grace, which should give us illumination leading to release from the bondage of life and to eternal bliss.

This is rather too intellectual and idealistic for the grasp of the common man, but Sankara's powerful advocacy carried all before it, and secured adherents all over the country. It was a successor of Sankaracharya in the Sringeri Mutt, Madhavacharya, who helped the birth of the Vijayanagar Kingdom in the 14th Century.

Early in the 12th Century another great teacher, Ramanujacharya, came to Mysore to escape from the oppression of the Saivite King at Kanchi, and propagated Vaishnavism in the State. He was born in 1017 in Sriperumbudur near Madras and studied under Yadavaprakasa, a Saivite teacher. But before long he felt that the Advaitic explanation of the universe was not in accordance with the true meaning of the Vedic texts. He felt that the material world was too much of a fact to be dismissed as a mirage, that God could not be dubbed an abstract, shapeless, nebulous entity, but was the embodiment of all that was great, noble, powerful, and glorious.

His eminent scholarship and brilliant plea for Srivaishnavism made Kanchi too hot for him, and he had to escape to the Mysore territory.

Reaching Tondanur, the Capital of the Hoysala King, Bittideva, who was a Jain, accident brought him the devotion of the King, who became his disciple under

the name of "Vishnuvardhana." During his stay in the State Ramanuja regenerated the temples of Belur and Melkote, established a Mutt at Melkote, and created history by granting permission to Panchamas to enter the temples on certain occasions. He was also instrumental in renovating the temples of Srirangam, Kanchi, and Tirupati. He lived for 120 years, and at his death his following consisted of 700 yatis, 74 Mutts or Bishoprics, 12,000 monks, 300 nuns, many Kings, and multitudes of others."

His teachings are, "There is but one God. He is All-merciful, and therefore our way. He is All-knowing and Almighty and therefore our God. The soul's end and aim is eternal service at His holy feet. By love of God emancipation is to be won."

Another religious personage who attained dominance not long after Ramanuja was Basavaradhya, born an Aradhya Bramin or priest of ancient Veerasaivism, but evidently a protestant secessionist from the orthodox form of the faith. He came to Kalyan, capital of the Kalachuri King Bijjala, became his Minister and General, and virtually became a Dictator. The effort of Bijjala to suppress him failed, and Bijjala himself met an untimely end at the hands of Basava's men. His son and successor sought revenge against Basava who escaped to Malabar and ended his life there. His followers form one of the largest religious groups in the State.

The language of the bulk of the people is Kannada. Its written characters belong to about 250 B.C. With

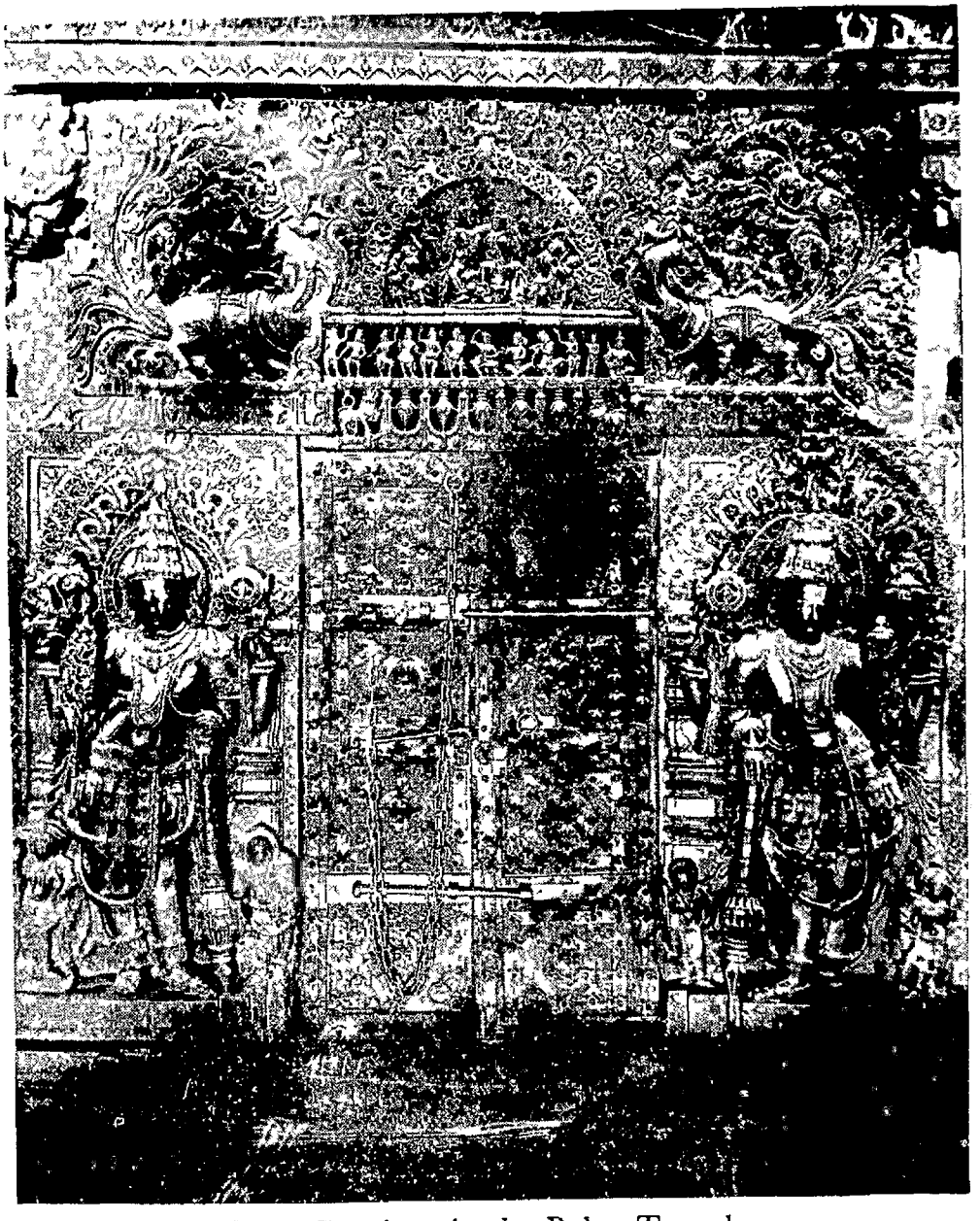
regard to their literature, according to a writer, " during the first millennium of its course, it is an unmingled stream of Jaina thought. In the 12th Century this is joined by the stream of Veerashaivism, flowing side by side, and without mingling. In the beginning of the 16th century the two are joined by a Vaishnava affluent. The first extant Kannada work is of the 9th century, when a poet of the court of Rashtrakuta King Nripatunga wrote " Kavirajamarga," a book on poetics. Obviously then literature had become an established fact before a writer could think of laying down its rules, though the works themselves have not come down to us. In the 10th century Pampa wrote *Adipurana* and *Pampabharata*, Ponna wrote *Shantipurana*, and Ranna *Ajitapurana*. Chamundaraya, General of a Ganga King, and inspirer of the statue of Gomatheswara, was also the author of a Jain Purana. Nagavarma wrote *Chandombudhi* on prosody and *Kadambari*. To the 12th century belong Nayasena, author of an ethical work *Dharmamrita*, Nagavarma II author of "Kavyavalokana" and "Bhashabhooshana," and Durgasimha author of "Panchatantra," all works based on Sanskrit originals. Raghavanka author of *Harischandra Kavya*, Bhima-Kavi of *Basavapurana*, Janna of *Ananthanathapurana*, Andayya of *Kabbigara-kava*, Kesiraja of *Sabdamanidarpana*, Rudrabhatta of *Jagannathavijaya*, Naranappa of *Jaiminibharata* are some of the other writers of outstanding interest during those centuries.

Among the Arts, the monuments of sculpture, engraving, and architecture in Mysore have not been surpassed

by those of any other parts in India. They are masterpieces of design and execution which have continued to extort admiration during the centuries. The oldest architecture is from the 3rd century B.C. being Buddhistic remains. The outstanding Jain statue of Gomatheswara has already been described. Of the two Halebid gems the temple of Hoysaleswara came into being in the latter part of the 11th century, and that of Kedareswara during the reign of Veeraballala about the year 1219. The temple of Kesavaswamy at Belur was built under Vishnuvardhana after his conversion about 1171. The temple at Somanathapur was built by Somanatha, General of the Hoysala King Narasimha III.

These temples are acknowledged to be the finest gems of Chalukyan architecture, executed by a man of undying name, Jakanachari, and his no less distinguished son Dankanachari, who worked under the generous patronage of the Hoysala Kings.

"The pillars of the Nandi pavilion in the Halebid temple," describes an admiring European writer, "which look as if they had been turned in a lathe, are so polished as to exhibit what the natives call a double reflection—in other words to reflect light from each other. The carvings have a minute elaboration of detail which may be considered as one of the most marvellous exhibitions of human labour to be found even in the patient east. The artistic combination of horizontal with vertical lines, and the play of outline and of light and shade far surpass anything in Gothic art. The effects are just what mediæval architects of Europe were often aiming at, but



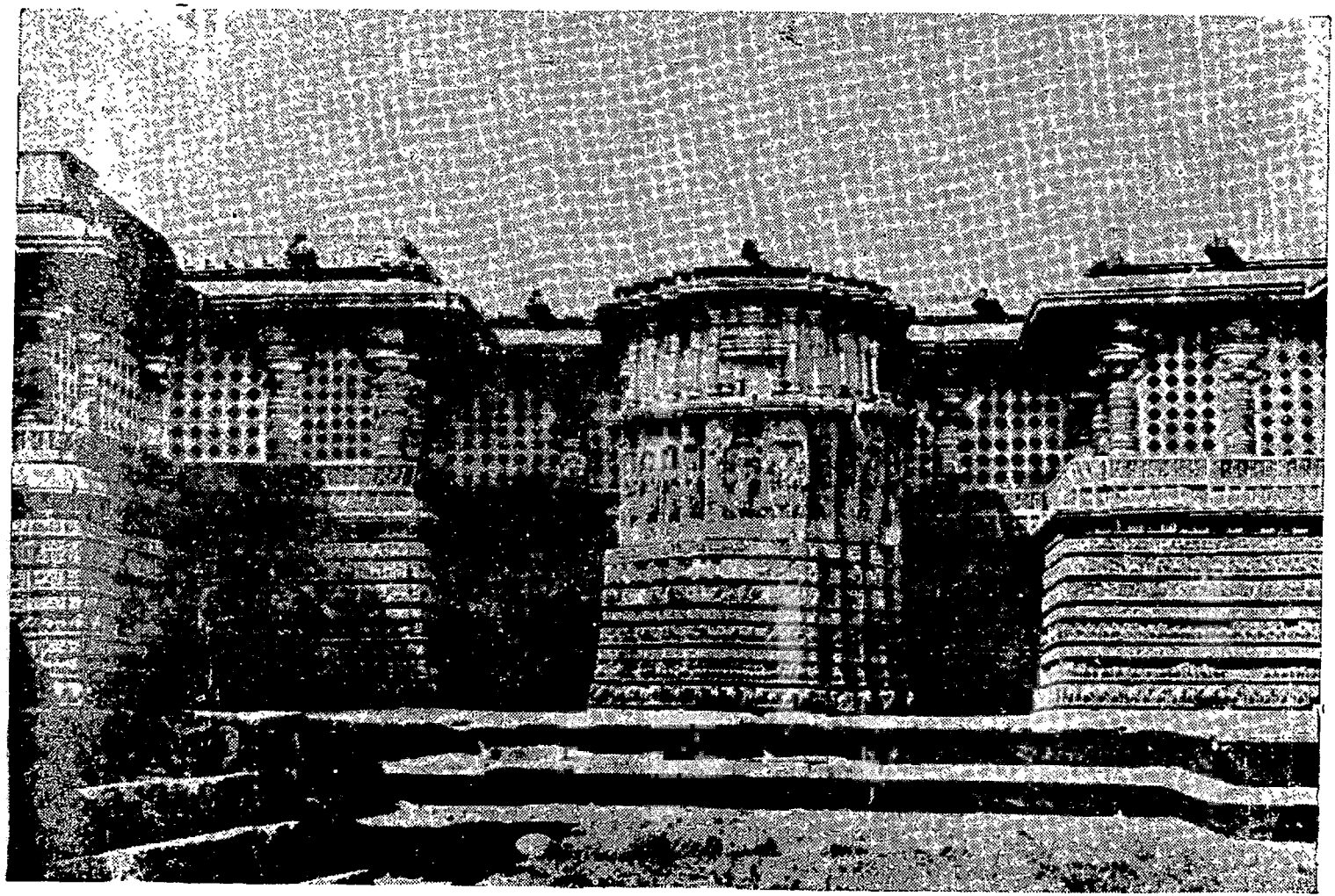
Fine Carvings in the Belur Temple.

which they never attained so perfectly as was done at Halebid."

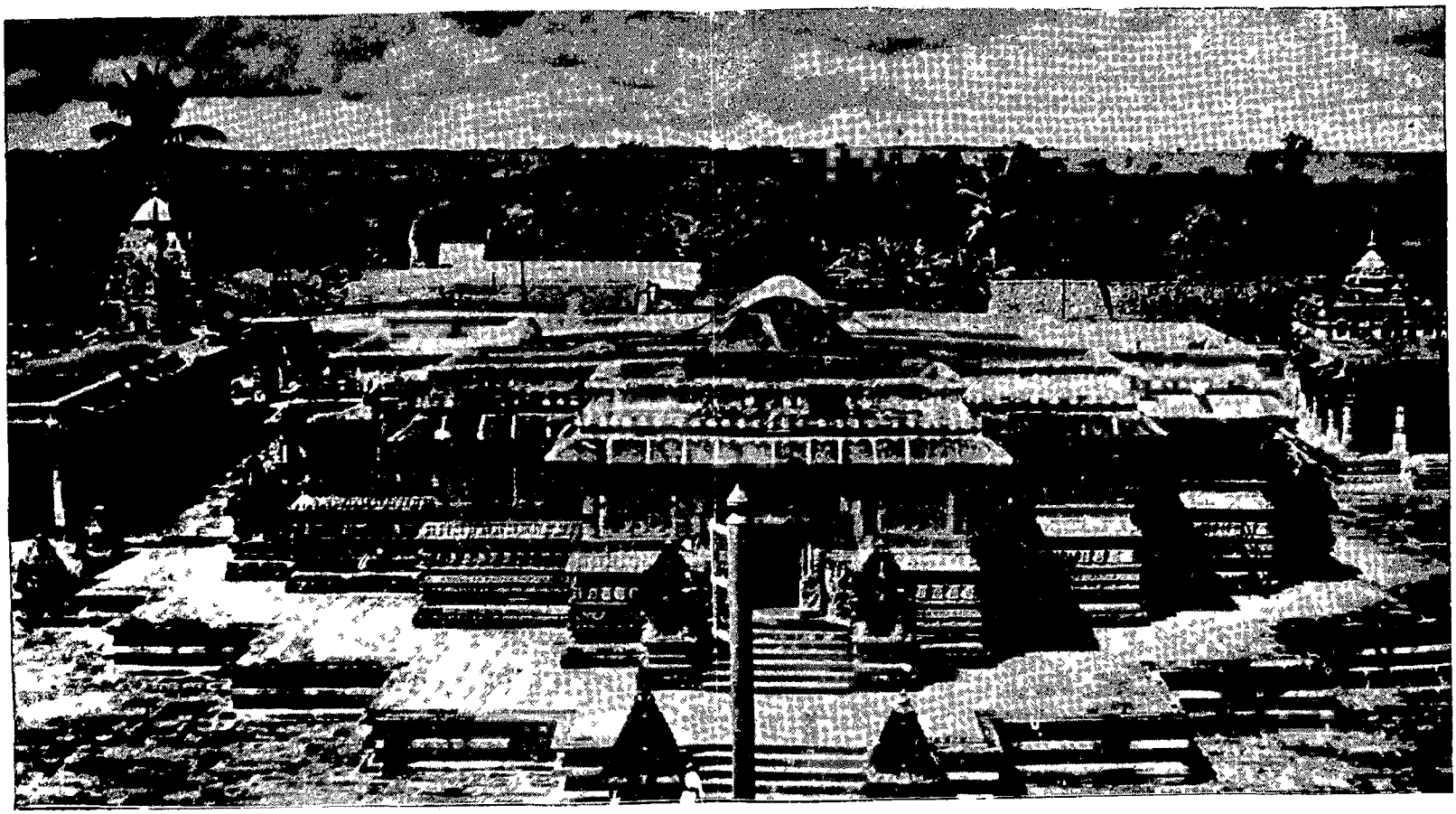
We cannot pass from this phase of the history of Mysore without drawing attention to the following tribute to the poetry of architecture exemplified in these temples :

" If it were possible to illustrate the Halebid Temple to such an extent as to render its peculiarities familiar, there would be few things more interesting or more instructive than to institute a comparison between it and the Parthenon at Athens. Not that the two buildings are at all like one another ; on the contrary they form the two opposite poles, the alpha and omega of architectural design ; but they are the best examples of their class, and between these two extremes lies the whole range of the art. The Parthenon is the best example we know of pure refined intellectual power applied to the production of an architectural design. Every part and every effect is calculated with mathematical exactness, and executed with a mechanical precision that never was equalled. All the curves are hyperbolas, parabolas or other developments of the highest mathematical forms,—every optical defect is foreseen and provided for, and every part has a relation to every other part in so recondite a proportion that we feel inclined to call it fanciful, because we can hardly rise to its appreciation. The sculpture is exquisitely designed to aid the perfection of the masonry,—severe and godlike, but with no condescension to the lower feelings of humanity.

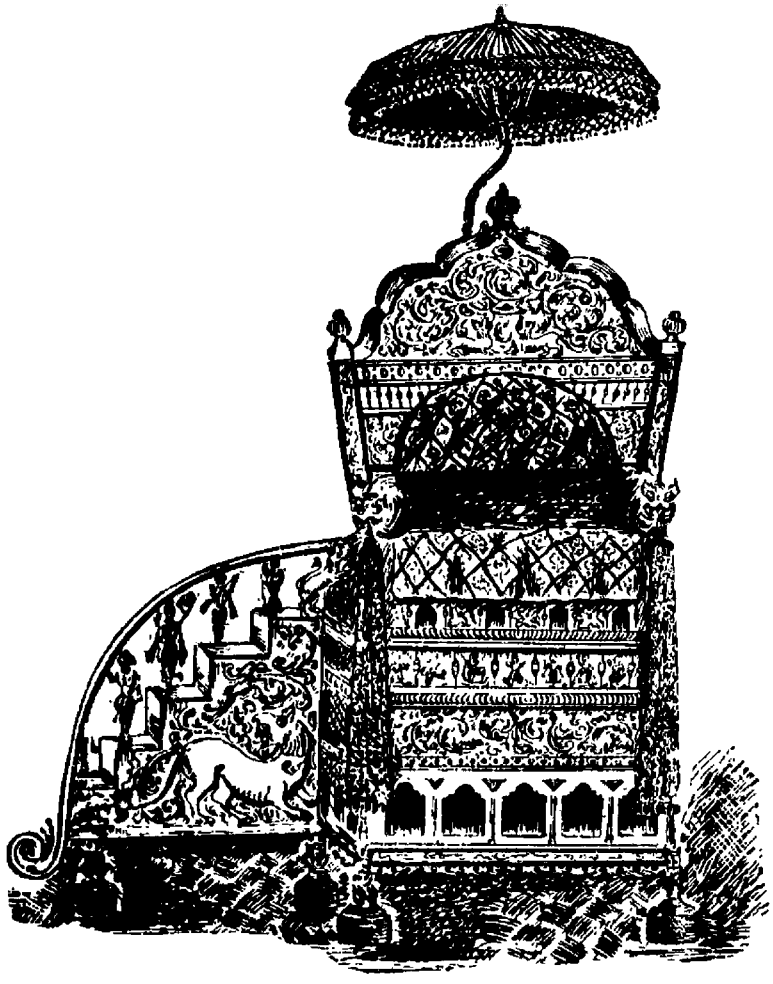
"The Halebid temple is the opposite of all this. It is regular, but with a studied variety of outline in plan, and even greater variety in detail. All the pillars of the Parthenon are identical, while no two facets of the Indian temple are the same; every convolution of every scroll is different. No two canopies in the whole building are alike, and every part exhibits a joyous exuberance of fancy scorning every mechanical restraint. All that is wild in human faith or warm in human feeling is found portrayed on these walls. The amount of labour which each facet of the porch of the temple at Belur displays is such as never was bestowed on any surface of equal extent in any building in the world."



Delicate Carvings in the Halebid Temple.



The Belur Temple, A work of art



The Mysore Throne or Simhasana

ADVENT OF THE YADAVAS

The picture of the country as conveyed in the preceding pages in those semi-olden times must cause surprise to men of little historical insight who are apt to look upon that period as the "Dark ages", and on the people of those times as uncivilized, untravelled and primitive. But in fact the country was not as dense and impassable a forest as one would imagine, and the men were possessed of remarkable powers of endurance. Distance did not count, and travel was astonishingly free. Sages, prophets, warriors wandered about from one end of the country to the other, and left their footprints on sands of time.

Two such young men, in the year 1399, scions of the Yadava Dynasty at Muttra, left their home and wandered south in search of fortune and adventure. They are Yaduraya and Krishnaraya, sons of Rajadeva. Perhaps they were dispossessed of their capital and had to seek their fortune elsewhere. They passed through the Vijayanagar territory, and visiting the sacred shrines of Yadavagiri or Melkote, crossed the Cauvery and paid respects to the Deities in the outskirts of the then modest township of Mysore.

It was a tragic moment in the history of the local royal house. Chamaraja, the Chieftain, had died leaving his wife and daughter unprotected. The man in power was one Mara Nayaka, who was maltreating the family of the late Ruler. News reached the latter, of the advent of the

two promising strangers, and the Lingayet priest of the family and two other trusted persons, Thimmarasaiya and Naranaiya, were commissioned to get into touch with them and seek their aid in the matter of quelling Mara Nayaka.

The brothers heartily entered into the proposal, and with a select band of followers the usurper was faced, defeated, and killed. Yaduraya thus won the hand of the heiress, and having married her, was made Ruler of her father's territory.

This was in 1399. Yaduraya ruled that nucleus of the present State for twenty-four years. Out of gratitude to the Deity of Melkote whose blessings had brought him a Kingdom, he built a fortress on the hill with four gates, and named it " Melukote ". He paid also grateful devotion to Sri Chamundeswari, and at the end of his reign was suceeded by the elder of his two sons, Hiriya Bettada Chamaraja Wodayar.

It is stated that he took the suffix " Wodayar " in honour of the lingayet priest who had helped him against Maranayaka. But we might recall that since 1350 the Vijayanagar Kings were styled as " Odeyars," the second of that line being " Bukkaraya Odeyar " and the third " Hariyappa Odeyar ". Having passed by way of Vijayanagar when coming to Mysore, Yaduraya obviously knew this, and copied that style of designation when he also became ruler.

Chamaraja Wodayar succeeded his father in 1423, when he was just fifteen, and ruled the country for

thirty-six years. He was succeeded by his son Thimmaraja Wodayar who ruled from 1459 to 1478. Chamaraja Wodayar II and Chamaraja Wodayar III followed him from 1478 to 1513, and 1513 to 1553 respectively. The latter built a tank behind the temple on the Chamundi hills near Mysore.

His son Thimmaraja Wodayar succeeding him in 1553, distinguished himself among the rival chieftains of the neighbouring country, and assumed the title of "Birudentembara Ganda" or "Master of Title-holders".

His youngest brother, Chamaraja Wodayar the Bald, succeeded him in 1572. It is stated that when he was on a visit to the Chamundeswari Temple, a lightning struck the immediate vicinity, but he escaped with only the loss of his hair which got singed! Hence his designation as "the Bald". His elder son, Bettada Chamaraja Wodayar ruled for less than two years. He retired from rulership in 1578, and his younger brother, Raja Wodayar, was anointed Ruler in 1578.

As we have to accord the honour of having founded the Yadava Dynasty in Mysore to Yaduraya, so to Raja Wodayar has to be accorded the honour of enlarging what was a modest Chieftainship into the rank of a Kingdom, and of securing for its Ruler a proud and historic throne.

Beginning his reign in the year 1578, Raja Wodayar had a long career of forty years of unbroken successes till his death in the year 1617. He seems to have been gifted both with military talent and political

acumen, and rose thereby from the headship of 33 villages and the command of 300 soldiers to the position of one who was able to face the massed array of nearly a lakh of foot, seven to twelve thousand horses, and one hundred elephants. Despite the presence of a Viceroy of the Vijayanagar Kingdom at Seringapam, he went on subduing one neighbouring Chieftain after another, till in 1610 he ousted the Vijayanagar Viceroy himself from Seringapatam, transferred his capital to it and ascended the throne there.

That was on the 21st of March 1610. From then the Capital of the Dynasty was shifted from Mysore to Seringapatam. As the Kingdom extended, the military force increased owing to constant warfare and the collection of revenue and protection of life and property of the increasing population required increased attention, and Raja Wodayar found it necessary to appoint a Dalvoy or military head, who was also Sarvadhikari or Chief Administrator. Bettada Arasu, a nephew of his, was appointed to the combined offices. Every village in the State was provided with officials for supervision, protection and collection of revenue.

Fine warrior and remarkable administrator that he was, he was also a man of piety, devotion, and literary culture. He improved the temples at Seringapatam, Mysore and Melkote, and made gifts of land for their maintenance.

There is a story that an envious cousin of his, Karugalli Veerarajiah, bribed the priest of Lakshmiramanaswamy Temple at Mysore to poison Raja Wodayar when

he came to offer his daily worship and receive holy water. The poison was put into the holy water, and when Raja Wodayar came and had offered worship, a spoonful of it was put into Raja Wodayar's palm. Before imbibing it Raja Wodayar noticed the nervousness of the priest, and asked him the cause. He confessed the guilt. Such was Raja Wodayar's devotion that he asked the priest whether he had given it as holy water or poisoned water. When he said that he gave it as holy water, Raja Wodayar put it into his mouth and was unscathed, the poison having stuck in his palm as sediment.

On another occasion a blind devotee who had attained sight of one eye by the grace of God Srinivasa of Tirupati, came to Raja Wodayar and related that he had been promised the sight of his other eye through him. The next day Raja Wodayar took him to the Lakshmiramanaswamy Temple near the Mysore Palace and bade him make his obeisance to the God. He was able to see with both eyes, to the amazement of all! Raja Wodayar became a devotee of the God Srinivasa of Tirupathi, as of the Divinities at Melkote, Seringapatam, Mysore, and Nanjangud, and made valuable offerings.

He also inaugurated in 1610 the celebration of the Navarathri festival on a religious basis and on a spectacular scale, which greatly helped to add to the lustre and increase the glamour of royalty.

The growth of the Kingdom during Raja Wodayar's reign is remarkable. In 1584 he won Akkihebbal, in 1586 Rangasamudra, in 1595 Naranalli, in 1600 Arakere,

in 1606 Sosale and Bannur, in 1608 Kannambady, Grama, Yelandur, and Satyagala, in 1609 Narasipur, in 1610 Siriyur, Seringapatam, and Karagalli, in 1612 Saragur, in 1614 Terakanambi and Ummattur, in 1615 Hura, Haradanahalli, Talakad, Hullahalli, Kalasa, Heggadadevankote, Malaluvadi, Bilikere and Mugur, in 1616 Ramasamudra, and in 1617 Mavattur.

In all these conquered territories Raja Wodayar appointed officials to protect the life and property of the inhabitants, for preventing invasions, for the collection of taxes, keeping of accounts, and transmission of revenue.

The Kannada poetic works of this reign deserve notice; "Sreeranga Mahatmya" or "Greatness of Seringapatam", by Singariyengar, teacher of Raja Wodayar's brother, and "Karnavrittanta Kathe", possibly by Thirumaliengar, a Minister of Raja Wodayar.

We cannot overlook a historic episode connected with this reign. After the acquisition of Seringapatam by Raja Wodayar from Viceroy Sreerangarayalu, and the latter's departure to Malangi near Talkad, the priest of Ranganathaswamy Temple at Seringapatam reported that jewels used to be sent weekly on Fridays from the Viceregal Palace for the adornment of the Goddess, and requested that the practice be continued. It was found on enquiry that Alamelamma, wife of the Viceroy, had taken them away with her to Malangi. Raja Wodayar sent messengers to recover the jewels from the lady. Possibly the messenger used force, but the

upshot of it was that Alamelamma grew desparate, and tying the jewels to her waist pronounced a curse that the Mysore Kings thenceforward be denied heirs, and flung herself into the bottomless pool of Malangi.

Raja Wodayar was distressed by the news, and in order to propitiate the spirit of the lady and soften the virulence of the curse, got a golden image of Alamelamma made and ordained that it be devoutly worshipped as part of the Mahanavami day functions during Navarathri. The practice has continued during these three and half centuries. Raja Wodayar died in 1617 leaving an infant son and grandson.

He was an outstanding figure in the royal ynasty of Mysore. By his military prowess he increased the extent of his territory markedly. He inaugurated an administrative machinery so as to bring the Government into touch with all the people. He sought to raise Kingship from merely an office of fear, into one spectacular and imposing, so as to rouse esteem and love in the public. He served as a model of piety and devotion to God which his subjects should emulate, and presented an example of a Ruler, efficient, virtuous, honourable and fine.

Chamaraja Wodayar I., grandson of Raja Wodayar who succeeded him in 1617, worthily maintained the high standard of expansionist rulership set by his grand-father. At the time of succession he was only fourteen, and consequently the political affairs rested in the hands of Dalvoy Bettadarasu. The Mysore Ruler recognised the suzerainty of the Vijayanagar sovereign,

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but that empire was weakening. Mysore was bordered in the north by the Kingdom of Jagadevaraya of Chennapatna, and the Kingdom of Madura in the south, and by minor chieftains in other directions. Throughout the reign there were a series of military campaigns against one or another of these, resulting each time in fresh acquisition of territory, or further offers of tribute. The Dalvoys who rendered this achievement possible were Bettadarasu, Linganna, Basavalinganna and Vikramaraya in succession.

When the young Ruler attained majority, conflict arose between him and the Dalvoy Bettadarasu who had been all in all during the minority. Afraid that his power would be eclipsed, a brother and nephew of the Dalvoy conspired to murder the King. Getting to know of it, Chamaraja Wodayar punished the two culprits as traitors, and in order that the Dalvoy might not hatch further plots, his eyes were put out and he was dismissed.

Chamaraja Wodayar ruled for twenty years, till 1637. The Kingdom had been extended during the period, on the north up to Chennapatna and Nagamangala, in the east and south-east up to Malvalli and Danayakankote, and in the west and northwest up to Periyapatna and Chennarayapatna. The internal administration of the extended territories was entrusted to Karyakartas or agents of the Ruler, what may be called the Commissioners of modern times. Basavalinganna was Commissioner at Talkad, and Rajaiah was Commissioner of Yedatore region. The army became the first,

or the second estate of the Kingdom, and permanent arrangements were made to secure an annual supply of elephants in order to form the back-bone of that army. In 1635 an armoury was established both for storing the captured armoury of enemies and for manufacturing new weapons of increased potency.

The King gave protection to all the three prevailing faiths, Saiva, Vaishnava and Jain, and himself paid devotion to Saivite and Vaishnavite Deities. Visiting Sravanbelgola, the Jain centre, in 1631 after the conquest of Nagamangala and Bellur, he was told that the arch-priest of the place, Charukeerti Pandita Yogeendra, had to migrate owing to the repression of Jainism under Jagadevaraya. He immediately ordered that the priest be invited to return, gave him a fitting reception at Seringapatam, and afforded him all facilities to pursue his religion at Sravanbelgola. He even granted funds to discharge the debts which had grown up during the previous years.

Chamaraja Wodayar restored the channels of the river Cauvery near Seringapatam, and constructed a bridge across the river. He also built a beautiful bathing ghat to the sacred tank, Kalyani, at Melkote for the convenience of pilgrims. He was an athlete, horseman, musician on the lute, and lover of literature. Periodical religious discussions were held in the court under his presence. He is reputed to have afforded shelter in his court to learned men from various quarters, and reared up the tree of learning by munificent patronage. Two of his literary proteges, Ramachandra

and Padmanna Pandita wrote the *Asva Sastra* and "Hayasara-Samuchchaya", on the science of horses in Kannada. Two other Kannada works are ascribed to Chamaraja Wodayar himself, *Brahmottarakhanda*, dealing with the philosophy and rituals of Saivism, and *Chamarajoktivilasa*, a prose version of the Ramayana in Kannada.

Though the reign lasted only two decades, though the King was only a youth rising into manhood, possibly due to the blood in his veins, possibly to the educational training imparted to him in preparation for Kingship, Chamaraja Wodayar proved both a worthy and brilliant descendant of the Yadava Dynasty. He maintained the integrity of the then existing Kingdom and extended its prestige by his achievements, so much so that while the status and authority of the Vijayanagar Empire waned, the status and authority of the Mysore Kingdom rose.

Chamaraja Wodayar I died in 1637. He was succeeded by Raja Wodayar's son, Raja Wodayar II. He was twenty-five years old at his accession in 1637. The Dalvoy, or General at the time, was Vikramaraya. Either the latter was over-ambitious, or the King and he did not get on well. In October 1638 Raja Wodayar II fell ill, and on the 8th of that month passed away. The death was ascribed to poison administered by the physician at the instigation of the General.

Ranadheera Kantheerava Narasaraja Wodayar

His successor was Ranadheera Kantheerava Narasaraja Wodayar, who has left a name comparable to the

gallant and valorous Richard *Cœur de lion* in English history. He was the second son of Bettada Chamaraja Wodayar, brother of Raja Wodayar I. He succeeded to the throne as the next of kin since Raja Wodayar II died without issue. His boyhood training was under his father at Terakanambi, and with his maternal uncle's sons at Hura. His sword play and his physical prowess have become legendary. Two instances have come to be recorded in historical annals.

He heard from a pilgrim returning from Rameswaram that there was a court wrestler at Trichinopoly, whose conceit was so inordinate that he got his loin cloth tied across the entrance of the fort, so that all persons had to pass underneath giving tacit acknowledgment to his eminence. Only Brahmins were allowed to pass by a side gate. Indignant at such arrogance the scion of the Royal House went to Trichinopoly as a lay traveller, tore aside the loin cloth, and entering the city challenged the wrestler to combat. The contest took place in the presence of the King of Trichy After a few rounds of lightning combat Narasaraja Wodayar stood still in repose, the opponent also standing inert. Then when the audience began to wonder, he touched the head of the wrestler lightly, and the head fell down; with magical deftness he had cut the neck with his sword, and it toppled down to the ground!

On the way back from the un-professional engagement this deft swordsman gave further evidence of his magnificent skill by cutting a soap-stone pillar in two by his little sword. We think compliment is due to

the maker of such a sword, and to the Royal owner who could wield it with such dexterity !

Sometime after he had succeeded to the throne, the chief of Trichy hired 25 assassins and sent them to kill him. They came to Seringapatam and sneaked into the royal apartments in the night and hid themselves behind the pillars. Resting after supper, Kantheerava Narasaraja Wodayar got suspicious and drew his famous sword, "Vijayanarasimha." The assassins swarmed on him in a body. He cut some of them with his sword, and made the others half-dead by the strength of his arms and feet. Then attendants came and drew from them the confession that they had been hired by the Chief of Trichy.

The period of Kantheerava Narasaraja Wodayar's reign was even more turbulent than was normal in those days. Southern India was a slow-boiling cauldron. The Vijayanagar Kingship had become the sick-man of India as Turkey had come to be known as the "sick man of Europe" in the 19th century. The Sultanates of Bijapur and Golkonda hemmed it on either side, and were seeking to tear it like wolves surrounding a dying lion. Incidentally they were trying to tear each other also. The Moghul Empire was trying to extend its sway down south, and was forcing to subjection both Muslim and Hindu rulers alike. The Naik of Madura was also stretching his arms for geographical morsels. Shivappa Naik of Ikkeri, Chenniah of Nagamangala, Nanjunda Mudaliar of Periyapatna, and other smaller barons who studded the country, were all persons to be coped with

in a large or small way. And Mysore's new Ruler was one who loved battle and revelled in victory.

It was nevertheless a hard time for the Ruler. There was always a war on, a war of defence, or of offence. The army was always on the march, either to meet an invading enemy half-way or to punish a scheming and treacherous neighbour. The Ruler had to be always alert, always find meens to outwit the enemy, and always be prepared for the worst. But the luck of Kantheerava Narasaraja Wodayar held throughout, and at the close of his reign he was able to present a competent administration, a well organised army, and a considerably extended territory. Its northern boundary had been extended to Channapatna and Turuvekere. In the east it ran alongside the Bijapur Kingdom. In the south it reached up to Satyamangalam, and in the west it had been extended up to Coorg.

Kantheerava Narasaraja Wodayar was a clever tactician, and Ruler of vision, besides being an able warrior. The Dalvoys with the army under command, and with a guiding hand in the Civil administration also, were practically Vice-Kings, and if left too long in their office were apt to prove a danger to the Ruler himself. Therefore he never kept anyone of them too long. During his rather brief tenure of twenty years there were ten Dalvoys.

As a Ruler he studied the system of administration introduced by Raja Wodayar, and made proper appointments for collection of revenue, keeping of accounts, and protection of life and property. Hearing a rumour that his

predecessor, Immadi Raja Wodayar had been murdered by Dalvoy Vikramaraya, he made enquiries, and removing him from office punished him and his tools. One Thimmappa Naika was appointed in his place. In the newly conquered territories he introduced suitable land-revenue and taxation systems, and squeezed out persons who were rich and mischievous.

He was a deeply religious devotee, and built, extended and endowed Vaishnavite and Saivite temples at Seringapatam, Mysore, Melkote, Nanjangud, and other centres. He was a liberal patron of arts, and encouraged Sanskrit and Kanarese men of letters. Notable among the works of the reign are "Behara Ganita" by Bhaskara, a mathematical work dealing with compound interest, square measure, chain measure and mint mathematics, "Markandeya Ramayana" by Thimmarasa, and "Kantheerava Narasaraja Vijayam" by Govinda Vaidya, a metrical biography of the gallant prince.

An inscription of the period sums up the reign with the words "While he ruled, the Lord God sent good rains; the earth brought forth full fruit, all points of the compass were unclouded, the respective orders were diligent in their several rites; all people were free from disease, the country was free from trouble, the women were devoted to their husbands, and all the world was prosperous."

Kantheerava Narasaraja Wodayar had ten wives, by whom there was only one son who died when five years old. He passed away in his forty-fifth year on the last day of July 1659, and his queens performed *sati* on his funeral pyre.

Devaraja Wodayar

As his only son had predeceased him, his cousin, Raja Wodayar's step-brother's son, Devaraja Wodayar, was installed on the throne. He was 32 years old at accession. According to the order of those times, the death of a strong Ruler was a signal for recourse to arms to neighbouring princes. Sriranga Raja, the last of the exiled Vijayanagar Kings had been invested with the rulership of the western areas of Mysore by Ikkeri Shivappa Naika of Bidnur. They invaded Mysore with a large force, and besieged the capital. Devaraja Wodayar, however, was able to repel the invasion, and even overran their own territories. The Naiks of Madura next tried their hands against Mysore from the south. There also the Mysore Ruler was able to hold his own against the enemy, and driving them back wrested Erode and Dharapuram from them. In order to show his contempt for his defeated enemies, he got made, out of the booty of jewels recovered from them, two jewelled sandals, which he wore on special occasions. The rest of the booty was distributed as presents to the army, and for such good work as the extension of temples, construction of tanks and other works of charity. He also constructed a thousand stone steps to the Chamundeswari hills at Mysore, and half way up the hill the giant granite bull rampant, which has attracted onlookers for nearly three centuries.

For the convenience of his subjects travelling throughout his territories he inaugurated the construction, for every ten miles on all the main roads, a choultry, a stone

shelter, a grove and a pond, and also large shade-trees on either side throughout the length.

Like his predecessors he was an ardent devotee, and engaged in religious activities and performed charities constantly, and encouraged the various classes of his subjects to pursue their avocations with honesty and virtue. He died after a brief reign of thirteen and half years, in 1673.

The reign of Devaraja Wodayar saw the beginnings of European contact with Mysore. In the month of June 1671 Flacom, the French agent, went from Tellichery to settle a trade treaty at Seringapatam, the Capital of Mysore. Dallen, a Physician accompanied him as far as the hills, but was deterred there by the excessive violence of the torrents, and came back. Flacom persisted, and returned from Seringapatam in November, says Orme, the historian.

If Kantheerava Narasaraja Wodayar evolved the independence of the Kingdom of Mysore in the critical conditions prevailing in his time, while remaining loyal to the Vijayanagar Empire, Devaraja Wodayar went a step further and claimed the status of the Empire itself for Mysore as its political heir. He died adored by his subjects for his benevolence and solicitude for their welfare.

Chikkadevaraja Wodayar

Chikkadevaraja Wodayar, nephew of Devaraja Wodayar succeeded him. His name has remained embalmed in people's memory as a most meritorious Ruler of the

Yadava Dynasty, like that of Queen Elizabeth of England, Louis XIV of France, Augustus of Rome, Akbar of Delhi, and Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagar. He was contemporary with Aurangzeb and Shivaji.

Born in 1645, he ascended the throne in 1673, in his twenty-eighth year. It speaks to the condition of the times that within five days of accession he had to lead his army to face an invasion by Chokkanatha Naik of Madura. He achieved complete victory over him, and over minor Rulers of Satyamangalam and Dharapuram, and exacting tributes, returned to the capital. Next followed a war with Ikkeri on the north-west, which was not successful. Contests with Bijapur followed, resulting in some victories, and then in 1677 there was the invasion of that Mahratta whirlwind, Shivaji. Chikkadevaraja Wodayar withstood him, and repulsed him from his territories.

He himself then led his forces south, and according to a Jesuit chronicler, entered the dominion of the Naik of Madura without striking a blow, and took possession of the only two fortresses which Madura had preserved in the north.

Further conquests of Magadi, Maddagiri and Koratagere and other areas in the north followed. In 1682 there was a second invasion of Mysore by the Mahratta Ruler, Sambaji, through his Generals, Dadaji, Jathaji, and Nimbaji. They were put to utter rout amidst great loss in their ranks. Much booty was gathered, and the three Generals were slain.

In 1686 Chikkadevaraja Wodayar had become not only firm in his position as the sovereign of Mysore, but also as an imperial authority in the South.

A Mogul invasion of Tumkur in 1687 was foiled, and their attempt against Bangalore, which had been sold by Ekoji to Mysore, was defeated, and Bangalore became part of Mysore domains.

By 1699 Chikkadevaraja Wodayar was affluent enough to send an embassy of friendship to Emperor Aurangzeb, which was received with courtesy, and we are told that Aurangzeb conferred on him the title of "Raja Jagadev," and presented a seal engraved in Persian with the words "Raja Chikkadevaraja Muhammed Shayi," and several insignias of royalty including a *Novpat* band, which has continued to play on the Palace front at set times of the day during these two and a half centuries.

Chikkadevaraja Wodayar's domestic policy was no less spectacular than his foreign. Soon after accession he appointed a Council of Ministers, with Visalaksha Pandit, Tirumaliengar, Shadakshariah, Chikkupadhyaya, and Linganniah. Visalaksha Pandit was the head of the Cabinet from 1673 till his murder in 1686. Tirumaliengar succeeded him and was Premier till the end of the reign in 1704.

Early in the reign a postal system was established throughout the territory. It not only conveyed communications between the public, but also kept Government informed of the activities of the public in the

moffusil. As the army was increased by 12,000 horse and 1,00,000 foot-soldiers, and Civil Administration throughout the country had to be established on a sound basis, Government income had to be expanded and stabilised. Land tax and other taxes were codified, and no one was allowed to grow enviably rich. He anticipated the socialism of to-day by clipping off the riches of the rich. These measures did arouse some disaffection in the country, which was suppressed with a strong hand. Disaffection died down, no doubt, but Premier Visalaksha Pandit was murdered in the course of it. Tirumaliengar succeeded him, and during his Premiership of eighteen years, he being statesman, philosopher and poet, the King's reign attained great lustre, and the kingdom much orderly prosperity.

The Central Administration was divided into eighteen departments covering all Government activities, and village welfare was cared for by appointment of officials for the promotion of industry and agriculture, besides those for protection, control and collection of revenues. Official remuneration was paid half in currency and half in food-grains, and it was decreed that no official should spend more than his income. Any one who was seen to be lavish and extravagant had to explain where his extra money came from. Thereby both peculation and corruption in public officials was minimised. The annual income of the State being 7,20,000 pagodas, the Finance Minister had to deposit 2,000 pagodas in the State treasury by noon every day. The Maharaja would not break fast till that was done, and would be attending to wor-

ship, recital of religious epics, and State affairs. By careful husbandry he accumulated nine crores of pagodas in the treasury, and was thereupon designated by his enthusiastic subjects by the traditional title of "Navakoti Narayana" or "Nine Crore Narayana."

Just as he sought to systematise the adminstration, he regulated trade and commerce among his subjects by fixing up weights and measures, and introducing what is called now-a-days "regulated market," whereby each commodity had to be collected, graded out, and sold from one particular centre. He established Customs Houses for the collection of duties on all articles of commerce. On the purchase of Bangalore from the Mahratas in 1687, he developed its bazaars, extended the fortress, and established in it 12,000 weavers, and arranged for the export of their output. In Seringapatam itself he expanded the manufacture of military equipment including cannon and gunpowder. He constructed two irrigational works of lasting merit by damming the Cauvery near Seringapatam, and taking out two canals on either side, named Chikkadevaraja-nala and Devaraja-nala, the lands under which rank among the most valuable in the State to-day.

He was no less alive to the religious needs of the people. Soon after he ascended the throne, he constructed a temple of Paravasudeva at Gundlupet, built rows of houses round about it and presented them to the deserving. Later, hearing that the Mahrata Prince of Tanjore had taunted that Mysore owned only one temple of note, at Melkote, and no other, while his own Kingdom owned

several Vaishnavite and Saivite temples at Srirangam, Kumbakonam, Madura, Chidambaram, and Rameswaram, he studded the State with several fine temples, that of Sveta-Varaha at Mysore, Gopalakrishna at Haradanhalli, Varadaraja at Varkod, and numerous others to Shiva, Vishnu, Ganapati and Hanuman, and made grants for their due maintenance throughout the year, as well as for periodical celebrations.

He was deeply religious himself, and has brought out the tenets of Srivaishnava faith in a beautiful Kannada composition of combined prose and verse called "Chikkadevaraja Binnapam" addressed to the God of Melkote. Another pretty composition of his is "Gita-Gopalam" on the fascinating model of the Sanskrit "Gita-Govinda" of Jayadeva. It is an exposition of salvation for the masses in accordance with the teachings of the *Bhagavad-Geeta*, the first part dealing with the boyhood of Sri Krishna, and the second part dealing with the doctrines of absolute surrender to God for attaining salvation. Couched in colloquial diction the songs are universal and soul-stirring in their appeal.

Chikkadevaraja Wodayar's reign formed an epoch in Kannada literature. His Chief Ministers were men of letters, and his inspiration and their own talents constantly added to the literature of the land for the edification of the masses. He was the first Ruler of Mysore who took deep interest in encouraging authorship as a means to popular education, and as a duty of

royalty. A hundred and fifty years later, Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar followed his illustrious example and gave stimulus to authorship. Sri Krishnaraja Wodayar IV also sought to encourage literary production in the latter part of his reign, and his enlightened successor, Maharaja Jayachamaraja Wodayar, seems already to rival Chikkkadevaraja Wodayar in his dynamic encouragement to literary enterprise.

Among the authors who flowered in Chikkadevaraja Wodayar's Court the most notable were Chikkupadhyaya, author of a number of Sangatyas, *Kamandaka niti*, *Suka Saptati*, *Divyasuri Charita*, and several Mahatmyas such as *Yadavagiri Mahatmya*, *Venkatagiri Mahatmya*, *Sriranga Mahatmya* and *Bhagavadgita Tiku*, *Sesha Dharma*, *Satvika brahmavidyavilasa*, and *Vishnu Purana*; Timmakavi, also author of several Mahatmyas and *Chikkadevendra Vamsavali*; Mallarasa, author of *Dasavatara Charita*. Tirumalarya, Minister, philosopher and author both in Sanskrit and Kannada, the latter works being *Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali*, *Chikkadevaraja Vijayam* and *Apratima Vira Charite*; his talented brother Singararya, author of *Mitravinda Govindam*, the only extant drama in old Kannada; Shadakshariah, Lingayat, also Minister, and author of *Rajasekhara Vilasa*, *Sabarasankara Vilasa*, and *Vrishabhendra Vijaya*; Chikkanna Pandita, Jain, author of *Munivamsabhyudaya* and *Vydyanighantu Sara*; Sanchiya Honnamma, authoress of *Hadibadeya Dharma*, and Srirangamma, authoress of *Padmini Kalyana*. An independent author of the time was Lakshmisa, author

of the most popular work of Kannada literature, *Jaimini Bharata*.

It speaks to the education, enlightenment and talents of Chikkadevaraja Wodayar himself that several remarkable works have come down in his own name. *Chikkadevaraja Binnapam* and *Gita Gopalam* are part of Kannada literature. He has also composed a number of songs in Tripadi and Saptapadi metres.

Looking back at this remarkable reign with historical perspective, the many-sided achievements of the reign make one conclude that the reign presents as good an example of an ideal Hindu monarchy as any in the whole range of history.

Possessed of exceptional personal strength, courage and prowess, he was, according to contemporary sources, " a handsome personage with features characteristic of a great man destined to rule as a sovereign, features suggesting a budding manhood, charming round face, large lotus-like eyes, well-proportioned nose, soft arms, round chest, well-built thighs, tender feet, white complexioned body, pleasing countenance and excellent voice. He was a trained warrior, a good scholar, notable author, a large-hearted and large-minded devotee, and exceptionally capable administrator. He would personally test the weapons, diamonds, horses and elephants required for his use."

He had ten wives, but only one son who was mute, and a daughter. When he was 59 years old, and had reigned for 31 years and 8 months, he died in 1704, leaving a name which during two and a half centuries

has been cherished by the people of the State and served as an inspiration to his descendants on the throne.

His son, Prince Kantheerava Narasaraja Wodayar, was 31 years old then. He was a mute, but nevertheless the Queen Dowager and Premier Tirumaliyengar placed him on the throne in 1704, and the reign went on without a hitch.

Hearing of the succession, Aurangzeb felt the moment opportune to invade and plunder Mysore. In 1705 his Southern Governor brought his massed forces to the doors of Seringapatam. They were too huge to be opposed, and Mysore purchased peace by offering one and a half crores of rupees. In other respects the State continued to thrive on the lines so well established by Chikkadevaraja Wodayar. According to Wilks, the historian, " The vigour and regularity of the late long reign continued for several years to be perceptible in the administration ". According to other records " in every village during his reign there was the distribution of good food, and daily festival and worship in temples, and on every road there were groves and water-sheds ".

He passed away in 1714, and his twelve year old son succeeded to the throne as Doddakrishnaraja Wodayar. As the Maharaja was a minor the administration of the State vested in the hands of Dalvoy Devarajiah and Sarvadhikari Nanjarajiah. The system introduced by Chikkadevaraja Wodayar of a Ministry representative of different classes was protective of the King's interests as well the people's interests. After the death of Tirumaliengar about 1706, the Dalvoy's power increased, and

when his brother was made Sarvadhikari or administrative head, orderly administration gave place to self-centred dictatorship. The Dalvoy filled up important offices with his own men. He usurped much of the King's authority, and appropriated much of the King's revenues also.

In 1724 with the support of the Nizam, Nabob Sadatulla Khan of Arcot and the Nabobs of Sira, Cuddappa, Kurnool, and Savanur, Lingappa of Ikkeri, and Siddoji Ghorpade of Gooty, invaded Mysore and besieged in a body. Military defence proving inadequate, peace was purchased with the offer of one crore of rupees. Next year Peshwa Baji Rao I came up with his army, but his attack was met with heavy firing from the magazines of the fort, and the Mahratas were forced to exclaim that it was not Seringapatam, but "Feringipatam," and raised the siege and went away. Then the Mysore army in its turn invaded Savandroog and Magadi, and went as far as Salem and Ratnagiri.

After attaining majority Maharaja Doddakrishnaraja Wodayar lived according to the tradition of his Dynasty. He was pious, just, philanthropic, and a person of taste and culture, frequented by the learned, and taking a keen interest in music and literature. While he himself adhered to the Sreevaishnava faith, he assured protection to all other faiths among his subjects. His General, Dalvoy Veerarajiah of Kalale also was a centre of men of letters, and some works have come down in his own name, for instance, a treatise on medicine styled, "Sakala Vydya Samhitá Sararnava."

Doddakrishnaraja Wodayar made numerous gifts to the temples at Melkote, Belur, Tirupati and Kalale, and to institutions and deserving individuals in and outside the State.

However his reign ended in 1732, when he was only 30 years of age.

As he left no male heir his widowed queen adopted a kinsman, Chamaraja Wodayar of Ankanahalli. He was 28 years old, and it was not long before a clash of wills arose between him and the Dalvoy brothers who held the three offices of Dalvoy, Pradhan and Sarvadhikari. Their rapacity over the people had increased unbearably, and any interference on the part of the new King was resented and defied, and the Dowager Queen was worked upon so as to side with them as against the Maharaja. As their plot thickened he felt forced to dismiss the Dalvoy and the Sarvadhikari from their posts and appoint others, one Gopinathiah being made Pradhan, and Kantheeraviah, Chikkiah, Narasappa and Shivanappa Councillors.

Dalvoy Devarajiah had money at command and also the sympathy of the queen, and was able to persuade a section of the army outside the capital to desert to his cause. And in June 1734 on a day on which the army of the capital had gone out for practice, he invaded the city, broke open the Palace doors, and making the King captive, despatched him and his wife to be confined at Kabbaldoorg !

Then the Dowager Queen Devajammanni adopted a boy, and he was installed on the throne as Immadi

Krishnaraja Wodayar. During his minority, Dalvoy Devarajiah and his cousin Sarvadhikari Nanjarajiah, and later his brother Karachuri Nanjarajiah, controlled the administration; and appropriated most of the revenues to themselves.

Sarvadhikari Nanjarajiah who was Chief Minister during the first five years, on the approach of death tendered his accumulated wealth of 2 lakhs of varahas to the King and Queen-mother with his last respects. His place was taken by Karachuri Nanjarajiah who held it unbrokenly for twenty years.

During this period the Moghul Empire was declining, and its southern Governor, the Nizam, was assuming sovereignty and trying to strengthen his position in South India. The Mahratas under Peshwas Baji Rao and Balaji Baji Rao were over-running the country from their capital at Poona. The Nawabs of Sira and Arcot in the Karnatak were deputising for the Ni am and carrying out inroads into the south from time to time. The Naik of Ikkeri was also a source of constant trouble to Mysore. The Rajas of Madura and Tanjore were also regular centres of dissension.

In 1741 Dalvoy Nanjarajiah led the army south on an invasion of Coimbatore and Dharapuram. Nazir Jung, son of Nizam-ul-mulk, found that time opportune for the invasion of Mysore, and Mysore had to buy peace from him. In 1746 the Mysore army invested Devanahalli. The siege lasted nine months and succeeded at last by the talents of a young soldier of the Mysore army, who was destined to play a great role in Mysore affairs.

Then the Mysore army had to go in support of Nazir Jung's invasion of Arcot and Kurnool. Though the Nawab of Arcot was defeated and much booty was gained, the Nawab of Kurnool routed Nazir Jung and his army. Hyder Ali, who was in the Mysore contingent, again distinguished himself by capturing 15 camel loads of treasure and bringing them to the Capital for offering to the Maharaja. The Ruler received 12 camel loads and left the remaining 3 to Hyder Ali.

This was the decade in which the French and the English in India, under Dupleix and Clive were scheming for supremacy. The English were backing Mahamad Ali as Nawab of Trichinopoly while the French were backing Chanda Saheb. Mahamad Ali had also sought the support of the Mysore army by the promise of the cession of Trichinopoly. In the conflict Chanda Saheb was betrayed and beheaded, and his head was sent to Mysore and exposed. Then Nanjarajiah invested Trichinopoly in a siege lasting 3 years and costing 3 crores of rupees.

Meanwhile Seringapatam was invaded by Salabat Jung, Subedar of the Dekhan, and the French under Bussy, demanding arrears of tribute. Dalvoy Devarajiah had to buy peace by the offer of 56 lakhs of rupees. "To raise this sum", says an account, "the whole of the plates and jewels belonging to the Hindu temples in the town were put into requisition, together with the jewels and precious metals consisting of the immediate property of the Maharaja and his family, but the total sum thus realised amounted to no more than a third of the amount stipulated. For the balance the principal assistants of

the local money-lenders were offered as hostages. Some of them died in prison, others escaped, and some later were released."

During the period Hyder Ali was rising in influence, and had become Foujdar of Dindigul. He and his assistant, Khande Rao, organised a perfect system of plunder, and accumulating a large treasure, with the aid of skilled workmen under French supervision built up an artillery, arsenal and laboratory.

Thus between Dalvoy Devarajiah, Sarvadhikari Nanjarajiah, and Hyder Ali, the Maharaja was left with very little power. In 1756 when he was 27 years old, a plot was formed to remove the former two. But it was discovered and Nanjarajiah stormed the Palace, forced the Maharaja to sit on the throne, and made him watch the cutting off of the ears and noses of his partisans. Even old Dalvoy Devarajiah was disgusted with this gruesome barbarity and left the capital and went away to Satyamangalam.

In 1757 there was an invasion by the Mahratas, and Nanjarajiah, unable to beat them or buy them off, had to surrender to them most of the northern territory in pledge. Hyder hearing this, came from Dindigul with his army, and routed the Mahrattas and recovered the territories. This was followed by a mutiny in the army for arrears of pay. Nanjarajiah unable to cope with it requested Hyder Ali to quell it, and Hyder with his usual efficiency was able to reduce their demands, and paid off and dismissed them. And then he captured the ringleaders and divested them of their wealth. He was thereupon

given the assignment of the revenues of Coimbatore, and the District of Bangalore was conferred on him as a jahgir.

The Mahratas invaded Mysore again in 1757 in great strength, and Hyder being entrusted with the defence, was able to hold up their progress and make them retire on a promised payment of 32 lakhs of rupees. On arrival at Seringapatam to report the achievement, he was received in a magnificent Durbar, and given the title of " Fateh Hyder Bahadur."

This meant the end of Nanjarajiah's dictatorship, and he was made to retire to Konanur. Practically half the State passed into Hyder's sole control, and even Khande Rao, now Pradhan, felt that it boded ill for the Maharaja.

In 1759 the Dowager Queen Devajammanni got in marriage for the Maharaja Katthi Gopalraja Urs's daughter Lakshammanni, as there were no issues by the first consort. That young bride ultimately proved the salvation of the Mysore Royal Dynasty and the Mysore State.

In 1760 the English at Madras sent word to the Maharaja for help against the French. The French on the other hand approached Hyder Ali for aid against the British, and offered in return the regions of Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnavelly. And ignoring the wishes of the Maharaja Hyder Ali made a treaty with the French.

This made the Dowager Queen and Maharaja extremely anxious, and an agent, Rayadurgam Srinivasa Rao was sent privately to Governor Lord Piggott at

Madras seeking aid in order to curb the Nawab. Pradhan Khande Rao also negotiated with the Mahratas for aid against Hyder.

Much of Hyder Ali's force had been sent south to aid the French. And Khande Rao, gathering the forces sympathetic to the Palace attacked Hyder. Caught unaware Hyder disappeared, leaving his wife and children behind. Aided by luck and his own acute intelligence, he gathered a force from Bangalore and Coimbatore, and securing the aid of Nanjarajiah who was in retirement at Konanur with the promise of restoring him to power, he outwitted Khande Rao and regained much more than his former power. Khande Rao was put in a cage like a parrot, and left to a slow death.

Hyder Ali paid three lakhs of rupees to the Mughal Subadar of the Deccan and got himself made Nawab of Sira, and went about subjugating chieftains all round. Ikkeri, or Bednur, the old rival State of Mysore was now under a widowed Queen Veerammanni. Hyder invaded her territory and refusing her offer of money, captured the capital, sent the Rani and her adopted son to captivity at Madhugiri, and confiscated the wealth of the Capital accumulated during centuries and amounting to 18 crores of rupees!

With so much wealth at command Hyder sought to gain security in the north by appeasing the Mahratas and the Dekhan Subedar. For that he had to give back much of the country which he had taken from the Mahratas. But in the south his conquest progressed. The Zamorin of Calicut, the Rajas of Cochin and Palghat,

were forced to submission, and 15000 Nairs were transferred from their territories to the less populous parts of Mysore. Not 200 of them survived !

Not long after, the Dowager Maharani who had been witness to the slow decadence of the Royal status reached her last days, and calling Maharani Lakshammanni to her side grieved over her own blighted hopes, and besought her to do her utmost to restore the Royal power at least in the latter's time. With that her troubled spirit passed away.

Two or three years later, the Maharaja also saw the approach of death, and addressing Lakshammanni said broken-heartedly, "During my time the Kingdom has gone to the hands of Moslems. My efforts to recover it have not availed. You have a strong mind and capable intellect. You take care of the children, and try to win back for them our lost Kingdom."

Thus about her twenty-fourth year, while yet looking forward to a long career of womanly and queenly happiness, Lakshammanni was left a dowerless widow, without offspring, without husband, without kingdom, with princely orphans to maintain and a powerful usurper to fight against ! If she had been the Miss Mayo type of Indian woman, she would have lost heart and cowered before her responsibility.

Maharaja Krishnaraja Wodayar II left two sons by two of his wives, and Hyder's Commandant at Seringapatam chose to ignore the real heir and installed the younger boy Chamaraja Wodayar on the throne, with his wet-nurse Devamma as guardian.

This put out Maharani Lakshammanni considerably. She sent a trusted Palace official, Pradhan Tirumaliengar, to expostulate with Hyder on this step. Tirumaliengar went to Hyder who was engaged in one of his exploits at Coimbatore and got his permission to set aside Chamaraja and arrange for the heir Nanjaraja Wodayar's Coronation.

As Hyder's conquests and consolidation abroad increased his power, the position of the Royalty at Seringapatam became even more subdued, and virtually amounted to captivity like those of the Popes at Avignon.

Seeking relief from the incubus, Lakshammanni deputed a messenger secretly to Poona to request military aid from the Mahratas in order to suppress Hyder. A Mahrata contingent did come, but Hyder cleverly made peace with it and sent it away. The position of the Royal family became more irksome than ever.

Two years later another Mahrata army came, Lakshammanni sent a trusted follower, Malur Krishnamachar, to receive them, but Hyder again got rid of it and flung a number of the Royal retainers into prison, and banished Tirumaliengar to Cuddapa.

In 1776 again the throne became vacant and Maharani Lakshammanni wanted to adopt a boy from among her relatives. Hyder however ordered the adoption of quite another boy, and appointed Krishnaraja Wodayar II's illegitimate wife Muddu Mallamma as guardian, transferring Lakshammanni to a minor residence.

Her cup of sorrows was now full. But brave and resourceful, she again sent a messenger to Lord Piggot, the Governor of Madras, for help. Piggot sent word that Hyder was a powerful enemy and that it required much pre-arrangement to put him down. He wanted to have a trusted envoy of hers at Madras, who could keep him informed of Hyder's movements from time to time.

But Lakshammanni could find nobody to take up the post of envoy. It involved great risk and Hyder's mortal enmity. At last she induced Tirumaliengar who was at Cuddapa to represent her at Madras and promised him the hereditary Dewanship of the State, with annual salary of ten per cent of the State's revenue.

Hyder came to know of it and sent word to Cuddapa to murder Tirumaliengar. But Tirumaliengar and his brother Naraniengar escaped from there in disguise and reached Madras. Hyder in revenge confiscated their properties at Seringapatam and Mandya, and put their relatives in prison.

When Tirumaliengar presented his credentials to Lord Piggot the latter directed him to repair to Tanjore and remain there with the Raja for some time. Shortly after the brothers reached there, news came that Lord Piggot had died and they found themselves at sea. But the English Resident of Tanjore, Sullivan, introduced them to the new Governor, Lord Macartney, who readily fell in with their proposals, and in 1762 a formal treaty was entered into between the Governor of Madras on one side, and Maharani Lakshammanni on the other, for the

conquest of Hyder Ali and the restoration of Hindu supremacy, Maharani Lakshammanni engaging to reimburse the military expenditure of the campaign.

Ten days after the conclusion of the treaty, Hyder's mortal career was brought to a close by a fatal disease. His son, Tippu Sultan, immediately succeeded him.

The following words of Macaulay on Hyder Ali's personality are noteworthy.

" About thirty years before this time a Mohammadan soldier had begun to distinguish himself in the wars of southern India. His education had been neglected; his extraction was humble. His father had been a petty officer of revenue; his grand-father a wandering darvise. But though thus meanly descended, though ignorant even of the alphabet, the adventurer had no sooner been placed at the head of a body of troops than he proved himself a man born for conquest and command. Among the crowd of chiefs who were struggling for a share of India, none could compare with him in the qualities of the captain and the statesman. He became a general; he became a sovereign. Out of the fragments of old principalities which had gone to pieces in the general wreck, he formed for himself a great, compact, and vigorous empire. That Empire he ruled with the ability, severity and vigilance of Louis the Eleventh. Licentious in his pleasures, implacable in his revenge, he had yet enlargement of mind enough to perceive how much the prosperity of subjects adds to the strength of Governments. He was an oppressor; but he had at least the merit of protecting his people against all oppression except his

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But Lakshammanni could find nobody to take up the post of envoy. It involved great risk and Hyder's mortal enmity. At last she induced Tirumaliengar who was at Cuddapa to represent her at Madras and promised him the hereditary Dewanship of the State, with annual salary of ten per cent of the State's revenue.

Hyder came to know of it and sent word to Cuddapa to murder Tirumaliengar. But Tirumaliengar and his brother Naraniengar escaped from there in disguise and reached Madras. Hyder in revenge confiscated their properties at Seringapatam and Mandya, and put their relatives in prison.

When Tirumaliengar presented his credentials to Lord Piggot the latter directed him to repair to Tanjore and remain there with the Raja for some time. Shortly after the brothers reached there, news came that Lord Piggot had died and they found themselves at sea. But the English Resident of Tanjore, Sullivan, introduced them to the new Governor, Lord Macartney, who readily fell in with their proposals, and in 1762 a formal treaty was entered into between the Governor of Madras on one side, and Maharani Lakshammanni on the other, for the

conquest of Hyder Ali and the restoration of Hindu supremacy, Maharani Lakshammanni engaging to reimburse the military expenditure of the campaign.

Ten days after the conclusion of the treaty, Hyder's mortal career was brought to a close by a fatal disease. His son, Tippu Sultan, immediately succeeded him.

The following words of Macaulay on Hyder Ali's personality are noteworthy.

" About thirty years before this time a Mohammadan soldier had begun to distinguish himself in the wars of southern India. His education had been neglected; his extraction was humble. His father had been a petty officer of revenue; his grand-father a wandering darvise. But though thus meanly descended, though ignorant even of the alphabet, the adventurer had no sooner been placed at the head of a body of troops than he proved himself a man born for conquest and command. Among the crowd of chiefs who were struggling for a share of India, none could compare with him in the qualities of the captain and the statesman. He became a general; he became a sovereign. Out of the fragments of old principalities which had gone to pieces in the general wreck, he formed for himself a great, compact, and vigorous empire. That Empire he ruled with the ability, severity and vigilance of Louis the Eleventh. Licentious in his pleasures, implacable in his revenge, he had yet enlargement of mind enough to perceive how much the prosperity of subjects adds to the strength of Governments. He was an oppressor; but he had at least the merit of protecting his people against all oppression except his

own. He was now in extreme old age; but his intellect was as clear, and his spirit as high, as in the prime of manhood. Such was the great Hyder Ali, the founder of the Mahammadan Kingdom of Mysore, and the most formidable enemy with whom the English conquerors of India have ever had to contend."

Hyder's treatment of Bednur might exemplify his rapacity.

Bednur, we are told, was not only a wealthy and beautiful City, but also one of the largest and best peopled in all India. The City walls were 8 miles in circumference, pierced by 10 gates, while the Palace, situated on a hill in the centre, was surrounded by a citadel, the whole city and the Palace being encircled by woods, hills, and fortified defiles. When Rani Veerammaji found her position hopeless, " she set the Palace on fire, her ornamented sleeping apartments coming first. These apartments had been built by her husband Somasekhara II, a prince as powerful as enlightened, with Chinese bricks and tiles, washed and set in gold, the interstices being gold, while the doors and walls were ornamented with jewels. She next burnt most of her boxes of jewellery, or beat them to pieces in an iron mortar, and then, accompanied by only 2 or 3 escaped on foot through a water-drain to Kavaledurga where she was subsequently captured by Hyder.

A story of Hyder's impartiality also needs to be mentioned. A Mohammadan saint called Peer Ladha complained to him that the Hindus at Seringapatam had

beaten his followers. Hyder learnt that the Mohammadans had been the aggressors, as they had attacked a Hindu procession. When Peer Ladah argued that the procession was an insult to the Mohammadan religion and that the conduct of the Hindus should not be tolerated by Hyder as "the head of a Mussalman Government," Hyder replied, "Who told you that it was a Mussalman Government? I am sure I never did." The priest then threatened to leave Seringapatam, and Hyder told him he could go wherever he pleased.

A Moslem writer, Mirza Iqbal, writes of Hyder's regime: "By his power mankind were held in fear and trembling; and from his severity God's creatures, day and night, were thrown into apprehension and terror. Cutting off the nose and ears of any person within his territories was the commonest thing imaginable, and the killing a man there was thought no more of than the treading on an ant. No person of respectability ever left his house with the expectation to return safe to it."

On the death of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan's assumption of power, in accordance with the terms of the treaty with Maharani Lakshammanni, preparations were made in Madras for the conquest of Mysore. About the same time the partisans of Maharani Lakshammanni at Seringapatam had conspired to set fire to Tippu's powder magazine in the capital, overpower the Commander of the Fort and his men and take possession of the city, while at the same time two members of Tippu's camp in Malabar were to put a violent end to the Sultan's own life.

But news of the conspiracy reached the ears of the commandant prematurely, and he quietly circumvented their efforts, captured and put the leaders in iron-barred cages, and subjected hundreds of their followers to gruesome tortures.

The British army of invasion however, passed through Karur, Coimbatore and Dharapuram, but owing to lack of supply and want of co-operation between the military and political officers, it returned, and Lord Macartney concluded peace with Tippu.

When Tippu, or Tippu Sultan,—the latter word being part of the proper name and not a title—came to know that Tirumaliengar, on behalf of Maharani Lakshammanni, was instrumental in the English invasion, seven hundred of his near and distant relatives, both men and women, living in the region between Seringapatam and Mandya, were imprisoned, and later on put to most cruel deaths.

He did not spare even Maharani Lakshammanni herself. He sent word to enquire what part she had in inciting the English against him. She however denied having had anything to do with it.

Tippu's supremacy became thereafter harsher and more grinding than ever. Then in 1789, he found a pretext to invade Travancore which was in alliance with the British. On that, General Meadows, Governor of Madras, mobilised the army and took the field in aid of Travancore.

Then again Maharani Lakshammanni sent urgent letters to him through Tirumaliengar, reminding him of the treaty undertaking of 1782, and entreating him to carry them out at least this time. Meadows promised to do his best. Lord Cornwallis, Governor General in Bengal, himself came to oversee the operations of the campaign.

It was a great success. All the principal fortresses and towns, including Bangalore, were occupied, and the British army, directed by Cornwallis and Meadows, set siege to Seringapatam, the Headquarters of the Sultan. It looked as though Maharani Lakshammanni's long-nursed hope of the overthrow of alien domination was about to fructify. But fate was still with the Sultan. He begged peace of the conquerors, agreeing to humiliating terms, and peace was concluded.

As a result he lost 70 fortresses, 800 pieces of cannon, 3 crores and thirty lakhs of rupees, 50,000 men killed, wounded and missing, and half his dominions. A third of the indemnity amount was paid from the treasury, and for the balance of Rs. 2,20,00,000, he called a meeting of the military and civil chiefs, and got them to collect as nazarana 60 lakhs from the army, and one crore and sixty lakhs from the civil population.

General Meadows wanted to remove Tippu entirely from power and to carry out the promise to Maharani Lakshammanni, but Cornwallis overruled him. It is stated that, in consequence, Meadows shot himself in an agony of disappointment but the wound did not prove

fatal. Tirumaliengar and he sympathised with each other; and he vowed to Tirumaliengar that he would return to England and fight Mysore's cause till it was won.

Maharani Lakshammani was prostrate with disappointment. Time after time her most earnest efforts and deep-laid plans were being baulked of success at the moment when success seemed imminent. She had grown grey immured in something akin to a dungeon. The behest of her mother-in-law and her Royal husband remained unfulfilled even after thirty years. Meanwhile the young ones who were to have occupied the hereditary throne, assured of the loyal homage of the country's populace, had been taken away by death in quick succession. Her days were steeped in indescribable sorrow. But she bore it all with heroic courage and indomitable patience.

In 1796 Chamaraja Wodayar died leaving a young son, Krishnaraja Wodayar behind. Tippu now ignored even the formal ceremony of installing him as nominal King. Meanwhile, smarting under the indignities of his last defeat, he opened correspondence with Napolean of France, seeking military aid against the British.

Napolean's own letter to Tippu Sultan is given below :—

Liberty **French Republic.** *Equality*

Bonaparte, member of the National Convention, General-in-Chief, to the most magnificent Sultan, our greatest friend, Tippu Sahib.

Head-quarters at Cairo,
7th Pulviso, 7th year of the Republic
one and indivisible.

"You have already been informed of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea with an innumerable and invincible army, full of the desire of delivering you from the iron yoke of England. I eagerly embrace this opportunity of testifying to you the desire I have of being informed by you by the way of Muscat and Mocha, as to your political situation.

I would even wish you could send some intelligent person to Suez or Cairo, possessing your confidence, with whom I may confer.

May the Almighty increase your power and destroy your enemies.

Bonaparte."

Maharani Lakshammanni got wind of this correspondence and somehow or other securing copies of it, sent them to Tirumaliengar at Madras, asking him to place them before the Governor of Madras and explain to him her deep disappointment at the futility of her hopes of the effective co-operation of his Government.

General Harris, who was Governor, decided thereupon to take immediate action. He wrote strongly to the Board of Directors in England, as well as Lord Mornington, Governor-General, and ordered the army to mobilise. Negotiations were opened with the Mahratas and the Nizam to make simultaneous attacks on Tippu, and in

1799 the three armies converged on the capital and laid siege to it. Tippu sought peace on any terms. But Maharani Lakshammanni strongly pleaded with Captain Webb, Lord Wellesley and Lord Clive not to give way this time also, but to carry out their promise to her left unfulfilled for eighteen years.

Accordingly the siege was continued, and the fortress of Seringapatam was forcibly taken. Tippu's body was found amongst those of the numerous slain. He left behind a number of sons and a crowded Zanana.

We have no wish to view Tippu's personality and regime except historically, and give the following accounts in so far as they throw light on his character.

In 1788 when he invaded Malabar, his orders were, "Every being in the district without distinction should be honoured with Islam, that the houses of such as fled to avoid that honour should be burnt; that they should be traced to their lurking-places, and that all means of truth and falsehood, fraud or force, should be employed to effect their universal conversion."

The following is a State paper in Tippu's handwriting: "There are 500 Coorg prisoners, who must be dealt with in such a manner as shall ensure their death in the course of a month or twenty days; such of their women as are young must be given to Mussalmans, and the rest, together with their children, kept in prison on a small allowance."

The professed and formal regulations for the conduct of affairs had commenced before his arrival from

Mangalore, with the aid of his great innovator Zain-ul-Abidin, and embraced either directly or incidentally, every department in the science of Government. "Regulations military, naval, commercial and fiscal; police, judicature, and ethics were embraced by the code of this modern Minos: and his reformation of the Calendar and of the system of weights and measures, was to class him with those philosophical statesmen and sovereigns of whose useful labours his Secretary had obtained some obscure intelligence. It may be briefly stated regarding the whole, that the name of every object was changed: of cycles, years and months; weights, measures, coins, forts, towns, offices military and civil, the official designations of all persons and things without exception,—a singular parody of what was transpiring in France. The administration itself was named the *Sarkar Khodadad*, or God-given Government. Persian was introduced for military commands and official use. Exports and imports were prohibited, for the protection of domestic trade; liquor shops were abolished. Lands and grants of Hindu temples, and the service Inams of Patels were confiscated. The revenue regulations of Chikkadevaraja Wodayar, however, remained unaltered, but were republished as the ordinances of the Sultan. He strove, in short, to obliterate every trace of the previous rulers. For this purpose, even the fine irrigation works, centuries old, of the Hindu Rajas were to be destroyed and reconstructed in his own name!"

The great enemy of the Royal family was now dead. It looked as though Maharani Lakshammanni's

long-cherished scheme might at last attain fulfilment. But no! Purniah, Tippu's Prime Minister, made out to General Harris that the Hindu Royal family had too long been alienated from the people, that the Muslim domination had become an integral part of the country's political scheme, and that therefore, the sovereignty should go to Tippu's heir and not to the Hindu Prince. And General Harris seemed to concur with him! So also did Dundas, President of the Board of Directors in England.

But luckily for the people of Mysore, and luckily for that long-suffering and courageous woman, Maharani Lakshammanni, Lord Mornington decided that both from policy and from moral obligation to Lakshammanni, Muslim power should be ended and the Hindu dynasty restored. Accordingly Krishnaraja Wodiyar III was installed on the throne of Mysore on the 30th of June 1799.

It was a great day for Maharani Lakshammanni. Her zealous and single-minded endeavour had achieved what was almost an impossibility. She it was who, from inside her prison bars, had won for the Royal family the throne of their fathers. And she it is to whom Mysore owes the privilege of being reckoned the premier Hindu State of India. She brought about the contact between Mysore and the British. We are told that her memory is cherished by the present Royal family with considerable fervour. She undoubtedly ranks among the great women of India, who battled for a throne's and country's cause and won them.

Krishnaraja Wodiyar III being a boy at the time of the restoration, the treaty then drawn up was as between Maharani Lakshammanni on the one side, and the British on the other. Lakshammanni continued as the guardian of the young Ruler, changed the Capital from Seringapatam to Mysore, and directed the Prince's education and physical welfare. For ten years longer she had the pleasure of witnessing the country return to normal after a generation of military dictatorship. Her illustrious career came to a happy close in 1810, in her sixty-eighth year, and she passed into eternity, accompanied by the tears of a host of loving attendants and the homage of a grateful population!

MUMMADI KRISHNARAJA WODIYAR

We now come to one who was a meritorious Ruler in many ways, but who has come to be undeservedly maligned on account of the cupidity of the British. He had the luck to be invested with the severeignty of his kingdom at the age of six, the misfortune to be divested of his powers at the prime of his manhood, and the grit to carry on a war of nerves, and war of tactics, with phlegmatic, dogmatic British imperialism, and in the end to come out victorious!

It has been contended by many people, in power and out of power, and on many occasions, that placing him on the throne was an act of benevolent charity by the British. If that were so every case of compliance with a treaty, every case of fulfilling a solemn engagement,

would have to be deemed a case of benevolent charity. Their engagement with Maharani Lakshammanni by the treaty of 1781 bound the British to restore the Kingdom to the legitimate heir on the subjection of Tippu Sultan.

And even though the British were apt to forget their obligation, Maharani Lakshammanni was not one to suffer things to fail by default. She kept goading them to conquer Tippu, and kept reminding them of their obligation to restore the monarchy. Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras wrote to the Maharani in 1782,

" God bless you, I received the letter you sent with Narayana Rao, and have noted the contents with pleasure. I have been always anxious to serve your interests. The ingratitude and injustice of Hyder to your Royal family are well known to every body. It has become a matter of necessity not only for us, but for others also, to punish him for his misdeeds. I write this in accordance with the treaty with you. If God blesses the efforts of the Company it will be seen how your rights will be respected. We also count much upon the services of Tirumal Rao and other such intelligent noblemen on your behalf. And hence you may rest assured that your Kingdom will be restored to you. Hyder has declared war against us and our allies through enmity. We shall therefore necessarily invade his territories from all quarters. And by the grace of God we will restore to the rightful owners those territories which Hyder has occupied by fraud and force. The English and the Company will see to this with

special care. And we shall always do what is just and upright. The Ranee and her partisans should join the Company in this noble work. And there is no doubt that good will result in every way.

Macartney."

The war of 1782 proved infructuous for Maharani Lakshammanni's purpose, and she had to bide her time. In 1789 Tippu Sultan's invasion of Travancore provided opportunity for another war between the British and him. General Meadows was the Governor of Madras. His letter dated May 1790 to Maharani Lakshammanni speaks for itself:

"The repeated greetings of General Meadows, Governor of Channapatna. Your letter was duly delivered by your Ambassador Tirumal Rao, and I understand the contents thereof. God knows when Tippu may die and leave the country. Victory is God's grace. If He will enable us to restore the Kingdom to the rightful Rulers, we shall indeed be very happy. We cannot now discuss about the distribution of territories. As the Nizam and the Mahratas are now our allies, we cannot settle the point ourselves. It is right that you should bear the cost of the war, and it is also very good that you promise to pay prize-money to the troops. If we can but succeed in restoring the country to you and set things right, we shall feel pleased that we have accomplished a good purpose. We will do our best and the Almighty God should crown our efforts with success. We cannot say more now.

William Meadows."

That war did not end Tippu Sultan, but left him like a wounded tiger, with greater blood-lust. Once again Maharani Lakshammanni's effort failed, like Bhagiratha's second effort to bring the waters of the Ganges for the consecration of the ashes of his ancestors.

With job-like patience she waited urging the British now and again like a Laputan flapper, till in 1799 things grew ripe again. Josiah Webbe, Secretary to the Madras Government, wrote to her in April 1799 :

" With compliments from J. Webbe to Maharani Narapathi Mathosri Rana Saheb :

Three letters you sent, one to me, one to His Lordship of Bengal, and one to His Lordship here, your Pradhan Tirumal Rao delivered, and these gave us much pleasure.

Your Pradhan Tirumal Rao has for a long period continued to give us every information respecting you, and their Lordships have solemnly promised to serve you, which your Pradhan must have mentioned to you. You may rest assured that there will be no end to our friendship. We have now declared war against Tippu. But we know not what will be the result. God only knows it. I cannot write much on that head. After it be over they will without doubt attend to your business :

J. Webbe."

In the face of these repeated engagements by the British representatives over a period of 18 years to restore the sovereignty of the hereditary Ruler after the fall of Tippu Sultan, to hold that there was no moral

obligation on the British to do so, and that Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar should be grateful for their charity, is not a plea that any historian can countenance.

Nawab Hyder Ali was a titular Nawab, not an anointed sovereign. Tippu Sultan was not an anointed Sultan. Their usurpation of the administration did not destroy the monarchy, though it might have made it a figurehead, just as General Macarthur in present-day Japan is the supreme Administrator but has not ousted the Mikado. When Macarthur is removed the supremacy vests in the Mikado. Similarly when the British removed the Dictator, the monarchy ipso-facto remained. If the British wanted to usurp the territory they would have had to dispossess the monarch.

The territory in the possession of the Royal family before the dictatorship of Hyder began, consisted of the major part of the present districts of Mysore, Hassan, Kadur, Tumkur, Bangalore, Salem, Coimbatore, and Madura as far as Dindigal, fetching an income of a crore and thirty lakhs of rupees. At the time of Hyder's death, the extent of the Kingdom was about eighty thousand square miles, including the extensive table-land of Mysore, and the rich districts of Baramahal, Salem, Namakal, Dindigul, Shankaridroog, Karur, Erode, Dharapuram, Coimbatore, Palaghat, Calicut, Bednur, Soonda, Harpanahalli, Dharwar, Savanoor, Gootti, Cuddapa, Royadroog, Chitaldrug, and others. From this vast Kingdom extending to the banks of the Krishna, Hyder was receiving an income of about three and half crores of rupees.

The division of this territory and the question of restoration of the monarchy rested on the decision of the Governor General, Lord Mornington. The considerations which guided his decision are to be found in a letter addressed by him to the Court of Directors in England soon after the victory:

"The approved policy, interests and honour of the British Nation therefore required that the settlement of the extensive Kingdom subjected to our disposal, should be formed on principles acceptable to the inhabitants of the conquered territories, just and conciliatory to the contiguous Native States, and indulgent to every party in any degree affected by the consequences of our success."

"To have divided the whole territory equally between the Company and the Nizam, to the exclusion of any other State, would have afforded strong grounds of jealousy to the Mahratas, and aggrandized the Nizam's power beyond all bounds of discretion. Under whatever form such a partition could have been made, it must have placed in the hands of the Nizam many of the strong fortresses on the northern frontiers of Mysore, and exposed our frontier in that quarter to every predatory incursion; such a partition would have laid the foundation of perpetual differences, not only between the Mahratas and the Nizam, but between the Company and both these powers."

"To have divided the country into three equal portions, allowing the Mahratas, (who had borne no part in the expenses or hazard of the war), an equal share with

the other two branches of the Triple Alliance in the advantages of the peace, would have been unjust towards the Nizam and towards the Company; impolitic as furnishing an evil example to our other allies in India; and dangerous, as effecting a considerable aggrandisement of the Mahrata Empire at the expense of the Company and the Nizam. This mode of partition, also must have placed Chitaldrug and some of the most important northern fortresses in the hands of the Mahratas, while the remainder of the fortresses in the same line would have been occupied by the Nizam, and our unfortified and open frontier in Mysore would have been exposed to the excesses of the undisciplined troops of both powers."

"An attentive investigation of every comparative view of these important questions terminated in my decision that the establishment of a central and separate Government in Mysore under the protection of the Company, and the admission of the Mahratas to a certain participation in the division of the conquered territory were the expedients best calculated to reconcile the interests of all parties, and to secure to the Company a less invidious and more efficient share of revenue, resource and commercial advantage and military strength than under any other kind of distribution."

"It would certainly have been desirable that the ancient Mysore territory should have been placed in the hands of one of Tippu's sons, but the hereditary and intimate connection established between Tippu and French, the probability that the French may be enabled to maintain themselves in Egypt, the perpetual interest that

Tippu's family must feel to undermine and subvert a system which had so much reduced their patrimony and power, added to their natural hatred of the English name, and to the aspiring ambition, indignant pride and deadly revenge congenial to the Mahammadan character, precluded the possibility of restoring any branch of the family of the late Sultan to the throne without exposing us to the constant hazard of internal commotion and even of foreign war. Such a settlement would have cherished in its bosom a restless and powerful principle of its own dissolution; we could never have expected harmony or a spirit of friendship or alliance, where no true reconcilement could grow; even submission must have been reluctant and treacherous, where bitter memory of fallen dignity, wealth and power must have united every passion and vice with many of the noblest virtues in a constant desire to recover an empire, originally acquired by an extraordinary combination of falsehood, cruelty, and courage, and maintained for a long time with eminent policy and vigour as well in its internal Government as in its foreign relations."

"You will observe that throughout this view of the subject I have assumed the justice and necessity of the late war against Tippu Sultan and consequently the right of conquest under which I conceive the absolute disposal of the territory to have accrued to the Company and the Nizam. In the exercise of this right if I were to look to moral considerations alone, I should certainly on every principle of justice and humanity, as well as of attention to the welfare of the people, have been led to restore the

heir of the ancient Rajah of Mysore to that rank and dignity which were wrested from his ancestor by the usurpation of Hyder Ali."

"The long and cruel imprisonment which several branches of his family have suffered, the persecution and murder of many of their adherents, and the state of degradation and misery in which it has been the policy of both these usurpers to retain the surviving descendants of their lawful sovereign, would have entitled the representative of the ancient family of Mysore to every degree of practicable consideration; but it is also evident that every motive must concur to attach the heir of the Mysore family if placed on the throne, to our interests, through which alone he can hope to maintain himself against the family of Tippoo."

Lord Mornington makes no reference to the treaty obligation of the British to Maharani Lakshammanni since 1782. When we recall that the Third Mysore War was undertaken by them in consequence of their treaty obligation to the Maharaja of Travancore to protect him against Tippu's conquest, we may assume that the non-mention does not amount to a disavowal.

Tippu was killed and Seringapatam was taken on the 4th of May 1799. On the 4th June the Governor General appointed a Commission, including Lieutenant General Harris, Hon'bles Colonel Arthur Wellesley,—later Duke of Wellington,—and Henry Wellesley,—both brothers of the Governor General the Earl of Mornington,—and Lt. Col. Kiskpatrick and Lt. Col. Barry Close to transact the affairs of the conquered territories. On 22nd

June 1799 a treaty partitioning the territories was signed between the British and the Nizam, the Nizam being given the Districts adjacent to his dominions, the Peshwa being offered the districts of Harpanhalli, Soonda, and Anegundi under certain unacceptable conditions, the British retaining all the fortresses, coastlands and other parts to the south, east and west of the present State of Mysore. This partition and the restoration of Sri Krishnaraja Wodayar on the throne of Mysore was proclaimed on the 25th June 1799.

The members of the Commission waited on the Royal family on that day and intimated the decision in person. They were received by Dowager Maharani Lakshammanni, the Queen Mother and the young prince. In the Commissioner's words, "The Rana (Rani), in reply expressed through one of her attendants, the lively sense which she entertained of His Lordship's clemency, which had raised her and her family from the lowest pitch of human misery, to that station of which they had been deprived by tyranny and usurpation. She dwelt particularly on the persecution to which she and her family had been exposed from the cruel, savage, and relentless disposition of the late Tippu Sultan; but she added that the generosity of the Company, having restored the ancient rights of her house in the person of her grandson, had opened to her a prospect of passing the remnant of her days in peace."

"The Raja, who is said to be five years old is of a delicate habit: his complexion is rather fair than otherwise, and his countenance is very expressive. He showed

some symptoms of alarm on our arrival, but these soon disappeared. He seems to be of a timid disposition, and to have suffered considerably from restraint."

It is natural for a child of five to show signs of alarm at first when men of outlandish faces and strange dress come near.

The Installation ceremony was celebrated on the 30th June in Mysore. Seringapatam was unsuitable, and Mysore was the old Capital of the Mysore Kings, before Raja Wodayar succeeded to the Vijayanagar Viceroyalty at Seringapatam. Tippu Sultan however had destroyed the old town at Mysore with his usual thoroughness and commenced a new one called Nazarbad. The old City and Palace were commenced to be rebuilt, and the Installation took place in a spacious pendal near the Lakshmiramanaswami Temple. General Harris delivered to the Maharaja the Seal and signet of the State. "The deportment of the young prince at the ceremony", say the Commissioners, "was remarkably decorous, considering the untoward circumstances which had preceded his elevation, and confirmed the opinion which we had formed of him at our first visit to him."

It was also announced at the ceremony that Purniah was appointed Dewan by the Governor General.

Purniah was an efficient and capable financial officer who had won Hyder Ali's confidence and served him faithfully. He had continued under Tippu Sultan with the same zeal, and when consulted on the fall of Tippu had strongly urged that Tippu's son should be placed on

the throne, on the plea that the Hindu Dynasty had lost touch with the administration. This might appear strange at first sight on the part of a Hindu Minister, but perhaps the explanation lies in the fact that his interests had long become identified with those of his Moslem chiefs, and the fact that the restoration of the Hindu Royal family would mean the end of his hold over the administration. There was also the fact that Maharani Lakshammanni when engaging Tirumaliengar as her adviser in Madras to negotiate agreement with the British for aid against Hyder, had agreed to confer on him the Dewanship in heredity, with 10 per cent of the revenue of the restored territories. Purniah must have known this and felt that the Royal choice for Pradhanship would fall on Tirumaliengar and not on him. The British however did not leave the choice to Maharani Lakshammanni, and appointed Purniah Dewan, and did not allow Tirumaliengar either to enter Seringapatam or even to pay his respects to his Queen.

Before we pass from events of the 18th to those of the 19th century we might throw one or two more beams of light on the results of the Fourth Mysore War. We have referred to the complex motives which induced Lord Mornington to restore the Hindu Dynasty on the throne. We have come across an additional motive which he has thus explained to the Board of Directors: "The establishment of a Hindu State in Mysore, with the restoration of Temples and endowments of that religion, must be grateful to the Government of Poona independently of the advantages arising from the substi-

tution of a power of the same religion and of pacific views, in the place of an odious Mohammadan usurpation, scarcely less hostile to the Mahrata than to the British Nation."

His enumeration of the financial benefits which accrued to the British by the partition treaty is no less interesting. "By the partition treaty of Mysore," he says, "you have acquired an augmentation of direct territorial revenue to the annual amount of 6,47,641 star pagodas, or £259056 sterling. By the Subsidiary Treaty of Seringapatam you have secured an annual subsidy of star pagodas 7,00,000, or £280000 sterling, making, together with your new territorial revenue, the sum of star pagodas 13,47,641, or £539056 sterling. But a reasonable expectation is entertained that the territory acquired by the Company under the treaty of Mysore will yield, in the course of a few years, a sum not less than star pagodas 14,78,698, or £591479 sterling. If such an advance in the nominal revenue of the acquired districts should actually be realised, the positive augmentation of your available annual resources in consequence of late settlement of Mysore will amount to nearly 20 lakhs of star pagodas, or £8,00,000 sterling!"

"Further we retained full sovereignty over Seringapatam as being a tower of strength from which we may at any time shake Hindustan to its centre, if any combination should ever be formed against our interests."

From our point of view what was the gain of England was the loss of Mysore. While Lord Morning-

ton has assessed the territorial property acquired by him by the war, he has not given an account of the movable wealth which the British Government and men plundered from Mysore. A gold throne, tiger-shaped, with a jewelled canopy and crest was removed to England. And "By the unrestricted plunder of the town of Seringapatam and its neighbourhood, several men of the army became rich beyond the dreams of avarice." Colonel Wellesley, in a letter to his brother Lord Mornington informed him that "nothing exceeded what was done on 4th May, that scarcely a house in the town was left unplundered, and that in the camp bazaars jewels of the greatest value, bars of gold, and numerous other articles of value were offered for sale by soldiers, at indiscriminate prices, or exchanged for articles of nominal value. Single pearls of great value are said to be exchanged for a bottle of liquor. An army doctor was able to purchase from a soldier two bracelets set with diamonds, and the less costly one is said to have been valued at £300000 sterling, or 45 lakhs of rupees! The other bracelet was declared by the jeweller to be of such superlative value that the jeweller could not fix a price!"

The Prize Committee appointed by General Harris found in the palace an enormous and astonishing mass of wealth consisting of lakhs of specie, gold and silver plate, jewels, rich and valuable stuffs, and various other articles of great price and rarity. The jewels were found kept in large dark rooms strongly secured and sealed. In the same manner were stored the gold plate, both solid and in filigree, of which latter there was an endless variety

of beautiful articles. The repositories of fire-arms contained swords most magnificently adorned with gold and jewels. There were also a number of ornamental heavy articles, particularly several door-posts of ivory of exquisite workmanship.

A large library in excellent preservation also existed, the volumes being kept in chests and each book having a separate wrapper. Many of them were richly adorned and beautifully illuminated. The library, except one copy of the Koran, was transferred to the newly formed College of Calcutta. The copy of Koran, written in beautiful characters with elegant ornamentations is in the Library of the Windsor Castle. The Commander-in-Chief General Harris's share of the prize money amounted to £142,202 or nearly 19 lakhs of rupees!

Soon after the installation on 8th July 1799 a subsidiary treaty was signed between the Governor General's representative, and Maharani Lakshammanni and Dewan Purniah on behalf of the Maharaja, the main clauses of the treaty being mutual friendship, payment of a subsidy of 700,000 star pagodas for the maintenance of a military force by the British in certain localities in the State; further contributions by His Highness in time of war between the British and others, right of the Governor General to interfere in the administration, or take over part or parts of the State in cases of possible failure on the part of His Highness to meet the dues of the British, and in case of such taking over by the British a guarantee to pay to the Maharaja 100,000 star pagodas as also one-fifth of the net revenues of the State and to render faith-

ful accounts to His Highness, that the Maharaja shall contact no other State and employ no Europeans without the consent of the British, that when His Highness should require Military aid to enforce his authority the British shall render help as they shall deem fit, that His Highness should pay the utmost attention to such advice as the Company's Government may occasionally find it necessary to offer.

By a subsequent subsidiary treaty portions of the Mysore territory assessed at 34,447 star pagodas were exchanged by the British for the taluqs of Holalkere, Mayakonda and Harihar.

The administration of the State after the installation was in the hands of Purniah as Dewan and Regent. Colonel Close was Resident on behalf of the Governor General, and Colonel Arthur Wellesley was Commander of the British army in Mysore. In the Palace household Maharani Lakshammanni whose prayers had been granted by God was guarding the welfare of the young Maharaja and educating him in the traditions of his ancestors.

While Colonel Wellesley was subduing the country and quelling the disorders consequent on the end of a war and the disbandment of the excess army of Tippu Sultan, Purniah in consultation with and under the guidance of Resident Close, was active in restoring and reforming the Civil administration.

The British had arranged for pensions for all the relatives and Sirdars of Tippu Sultan. The Paleygars

and smaller chiefs who had studded the State in the early periods had been quelled by Hyder Ali, and destroyed by Tippu Sultan on one plea or another. Purniah confirmed the resumption of their lands and provided pensions for those who had survived their long sufferings and were of good conduct. The Paleygar of Igur in Manjarabad, prompted by the inaccessibility of his stronghold, sought to establish independent authority by organising revolt in his neighbourhood. General Sir Arthur Wellesley put down the rising and the Paleygar was hanged as a warning to other intransigent persons. Another notable rebel of the time was Dhondia Wahag " who was a brave of remarkable calibre."

He was a Mahrata of Channagiri, and in 1780 was a horseman in Hyder's army. During the invasion of Lord Cornwallis in the Third Mysore War he escaped with some followers and booty to Dharwar and lived by plundering. In 1794 he was induced to come back with his 200 followers to join Tippu's army. But refusing to become a Moslem he was forcibly converted and flung in prison. At the capture of Seringapatam he was found chained to the wall of a prison cell, and on release disappeared into the Mahrata country and with a band of guerillas began to harass the territory in the north-west. He assumed the title of " King of the Two Worlds ", and collected 5000 horsemen. He was pursued by General Wellesley and killed in a cavalry charge.

Two travellers of note visited Mysore about this period and have left accounts of the State and the Maharaja, Buchanan and Lord Valentia. Buchanan found

the reconstruction of the old Palace at Mysore, which had been destroyed by Tippu, " so far progressed as to have made it a comfortable residence for the young Maharaja. He found the Raja very much recovered in health, and though he was between 6 and 7 years of age, he spoke and behaved with great propriety and decorum. On account of etiquette the Raja endeavoured in public to preserve a dignified gravity of countenance, but when his countenance relaxed, Buchanan noticed that he was very lively and interesting," says a report.

Lord Valentia, stated to be a nephew of Lord Mornington, visited Mysore in 1904. At his interview with the Maharaja, the musnad on which the Raja was seated was of ivory and had much carving. The young Raja was dressed in gold tissue with some pearls round his neck. On entering Lord Valentia made his salam which His Highness returned. Chairs had been placed on the Raja's left hand for the distinguished visitor and his party, and opposite to him were other English gentlemen, and on his right were Narasinga Rao and Batcha Rao. " I paid the usual compliments ", says Valentia " through Major Symons and Narasinga Rao assuring the Raja of the satisfaction I felt at seeing him on the throne of his ancestors, and the confidence the British nation had in his friendship. The Raja replied he owed everything to the British and that his gratitude was unbounded. I turned the conversation to the new town of Mysore and several indifferent subjects to try if the Raja's replies would be ready. He never hesitated, spoke sensibly, and I was assured by Major Symons that he

was not prompted. He is about 11 years old, of middle size, neither tall nor short for his age, not handsome but of an intelligent countenance. He seemed lively. But on such a public occasion it would have been indecorous even to have smiled. He did so once but was immediately checked by a person who stood by him. I enquired of his pursuits and was informed that he was fond of riding and sports of the field. These were considered as becoming his dignity. But when I observed that he seemed playful, I was instantly assured that he was not so. I therefore ceased my questions as I found that I should not have his doing anything that was not according to rule. I strongly recommended his learning English, and pointed out the advantage it was to the Raja of Tanjore in his communications with the British Government to be able to write and speak in their language. They assured me that it should certainly be done. I regretted that his youth prevented my having the honour of a visit from him at Seringapatam, and therefore requested that he would oblige me by accepting a sabre as a small memorial. Having procured one for the purpose which had a handle of agate ornamented with rubies after the Asiatic fashion, I delivered it into his own hand and he immediately placed it beside him, assuring me that it should always lie by him for my sake, and that it was particularly a valuable present to him as he was a Kshatriya by caste. He in return put round my neck a handsome string of pearls from which was suspended a jewel of flat diamonds and uncut rubies. He also presented me in trays which were as usual laid

at my feet, two beautiful chowries, two punkhas, and two walking sticks of sandalwood with two bottles of oil which he requested me to accept. Immediately a salute was fired from the wall of the fort, and the strings of pearls were put round our necks. His mother sent her compliments with inquiries after my health and expressions of satisfaction at my having honoured her son with a visit. Immediately afterwards pan and attar were distributed and we took our leave."

In 1800 Nana Fadnavis, the famous Mahrata statesman in the court of Poona, died, and Peshwa Baji Rao provoked enmity with Jeswant Rao Holkar of Indore. But with Dowlat Rao Sindhia of Gwalior he was defeated by the Holkar, and fled to the British at Bassein for protection and signed a submissive treaty with them. A British army under General Wellesley assisted by Mysore force under Bakshi Bishtopanth, was sent to restore him as Peshwa at Poona. Opposed by the troops of Sindhia and the Raja of Berar at Assaye, a crushing defeat was inflicted on the enemy, and the Mahrata Rulers were subjugated.

The part played by Mysore in helping the British to this achievement may be given in General Wellesley's words. Writing to Colonel Close, Resident of Mysore, he observes, " I cannot conclude this letter without letting you know how amply Mysore has contributed to the supply and equipment of the army to be assembled on its frontier, and how readily our little friend Purniah has come into all my plans for the service."

"First, I have raised here 8000 bullocks before they had got one in Madras, besides the bullocks for the cavalry gram. Secondly, at the end of the gram harvest, one month before the new gram comes in, the cavalry Gram Agent-General is supplied with 7000 loads; and the cavalry are brought upon the frontier, with 500 loads each regiment, where they find 6000 loads to supply their consumption while they remain there. Thirdly a depot is formed of 7000 loads of rice at Harihar. Fourthly Mysore alone gives 32000 brinjary bullocks loaded, which will meet the General at the back of Chitaldrug hills at the end of this month. Fifthly 60000 sheep assembled in different flocks between Sera and Chitaldrug. And sixthly, a body of Siledar amounting to above 5000!"

And writing to the Governor General at the end of the war he reported, "I beg leave to take this opportunity to draw Your Lordship's notice to the Mysore Cavalry under Bishnapah Pandit. This corps which consist of 2000 men have performed all the light troop duties of this division of the army, since I was detached from the Toombudra in the month of March last. They have performed these duties with the utmost cheerfulness, and a zeal which I have never before witnessed in troops of this description. They have frequently been engaged with enemy's light troops, have conducted themselves well and have lost many men and horses.

To the credit of the Government of Mysore I mention that they are paid as regularly as the British troops; and the consequence is that it is possible to keep them in order and from plundering the country. It is to their

example that I attribute the conduct of the Mahrata troops serving with this division of the army and of which I have no reason to complain."

"Besides the troops employed with me the Dewan had a respectable corps of troops on the Raja's frontier, from the time I marched from the Toombadra till I returned, which he commanded in person as long as the war lasted; and a detachment of those troops under Khan Jahan Khan distinguished themselves in the destruction of a band of freebooters, who had assembled in Savanoor and threatened Mysore."

"I now take the liberty of congratulating Your Excellency upon the success of all your measures respecting the Government of Mysore, and upon the practical benefits which the British Government has secured from its establishments. I cannot avoid, at the same time, expressing the anxious hope that the principles on which that Government was established, and has been conducted and supported, will be strengthened and rendered permanent."

Englishmen are fond of claiming, with reference to Wellington's victory in the battle of Waterloo, that that epochal battle was first fought in the playing fields of Eton. It would be truer to say that the battle of Waterloo was fought in the mountain passes of the malnads of Mysore. It was his experience of warfare in mountain tracks in Mysore that led to his selection to lead the British army in Spain against Napoleon's Marshals. And brilliant as he was as a military com-

mander, a perusal of his despatches from Mysore induce one to render tribute to his fine judgment as a statesman. One is surprised that such far-seeing political judgment could be blended with such superior military talent.

Here is one shrewd passage regarding the finances of Mysore. "The great want in this country is of money. There is plenty of everything to bring it into this country; but as it is entirely cut off from the sea, and has no navigable streams, there is no commerce, and accordingly in many parts of the country, the revenue is paid in kind and the common purchases are made by the barter. As the Company will take nothing but money in payment of the subsidy, I am always afraid that the Government will, at some time or other, be reduced to borrow upon the crops from the Madras sharks, and the first time they do that they take a stride towards their downfall which will soon be followed by others. Close had a thorough knowledge of this evil, and by his care and management, I think that he would have prevented its bad effects."

And with regard to the political connections of Mysore he wrote, "In respect to Mysore, I recommend that a gentleman from the Bengal Civil Service should be Malcolm's successor there. The Government of that country should be placed under the immediate protection and superintendence of the Governor-General in Council. The Governor of Fort St. George ought to have no more to do with the Raja, than they have with the Soubah of the Deccan, or the Peshwa. The consequence of the continuance of the existing system will be that the

Raja's Government will be destroyed by corruption: or if they should not be corrupt, by calumny. I know no person, either civil or military, at Fort St. George, who would set his face against the first evil: or who has strength of character or talents to defend the Government against the second. In my opinion the only remedy is to take the Raja under the wing of the Governor-General; and this can be done effectually by appointing as Resident, only a gentleman of the Bengal Civil Service and by directing him to correspond only with the Governor-General."

The area of the territory of Mysore which came under the Maharaja was a little over 29000 square miles and the population about 22 lakhs. In the reorganisation effected by Dewan Purniah, the State was made into three Divisions, consisting of some 120 taluks or subdivisions: the taluqs being under an Amildar and the Divisions being under three Subadars. Above them was the Dewan. The Civil Government had three departments, Finance, Revenue and Miscellaneous; and the military were divided into Cavalry and Infantry. A department called Kandachar, dealt with the police, post office and army. The Dewan was considered personally the head of every department. Each Taluk had a chief Golla or treasurer, Sheristhedar or Accountant, and Amildar with the seal was the officer responsible.

The revenue of the Government was from the assessment of land, sayer, toddy, and tobacco. Amildars were authorised to advance loans to ryots for purposes of cultivation or improvement of lands. Sayer consisted

of duties imposed on articles of trade coming into each locality. The duties were collected either through contractors or directly by Government agency.

The mint and the State Treasury as also the Dewan's office were first continued in Seringapatam and later shifted to Mysore. Justice according to ancient usages of Hindu law was meted out by the Amildars and Subadars. Criminal offences were tried with the aid of a Panchayat or Jury, and the proceedings forwarded to the Dewan, who in extreme cases awarded punishment in consultation with the Resident. Fines were discouraged and corporal punishment prohibited. In all cases the parties had a right of appeal to the Dewan. In 1805 a separate department for the administration of justice was organised with the name of Adalat Court, with two Judges, two Sheristadars, six persons of respectability forming a standing Panchayat, with a Pandit and Kaji to advice on Hindu and Mohammadan laws.

The State Revenue for 1800 was budgeted at about Rs. 65 lakhs. The expenditure included about Rs. 20 lakhs for cost of collection and management, Rs. 7 lakhs of star pagodas or 24½ lakhs of rupees for subsidy, 15½ lakhs for military charges, about 5 lakhs for other charges, with a surplus balance of about 7¼ lakhs. Purniah's pay was Rs. 1500 per month and a commission of 1 per cent on the net revenue.

Purniah recognised the restoration of tanks and canals for the irrigation of lands as the first necessity in order to secure a stable revenue. By 1804 every embankment and channel then in use was put in perfect

repair and many tanks were restored. A new anekat was constructed across the river Lakshmanateertha near Krishnarajanagar, and the river Hemavathi was connected with it by a 28 miles channel. A canal of 48½ miles from there to Mysore for supplying water to the inhabitants of the growing city was attempted, but did not materialise.

These improvements alarmed the hawk-eyed people of Tanjore whose collector complained to the Madras Government that the Cauvery waters were being drained by Mysore, leaving the river dry in its lower reaches. That Government which had authority over Mysore, ordered Colonel Wilks to investigate. He proved that the fears of Tanjore were baseless.

Indeed Madras derived some indirect benefit by the improved irrigation in Mysore. In 1804 famine prevailed in the country between the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers, and some of the inhabitants migrated to Mysore. Mysore was not only able to provide them food, but also to supply large quantities of grain for the affected areas. Acknowledging this Lord William Bentinck, then Governor of Madras, wrote that while lamenting the fatal effects which had been experienced in other parts of India from a deficiency of grain, it was a source of gratification to him to observe that the State of Mysore had been preserved from that calamity and that it "continued to enjoy the blessings of abundance, thereby being able to administer to the wants of the neighbouring people, and to afford shelter to inhabitants suffering under the affliction of famine."

In 1804 on a site selected by General Wellesley a bridge for the passage of men and goods was constructed on the north-branch of the Cauvery at Seringapatam, and named after the Marquess of Wellesley.

Acting on the recommendation of General Wellesley after the Mahrata war, the Governor General in October 1804 transferred control over Mysore from the Madras Government to himself. But General Wellesley left Mysore in 1805 and the Marquess of Wellesley left India in 1806. Thereupon the Court of Directors retransferred Mysore to the control to the Madras Government!

In March 1805 General Wellesley left Mysore after six years of memorable association. He was not only a great Englishman, but a fine Englishman. On the eve of his departure, on 2nd March 1805 he wrote a farewell letter to Dewan Purniah containing remarkable sentiments:

"Lieutenant Colonel Malcolm will have informed you that affairs having begun to have a more settled appearance in the Deccan, I have obtained permission to go to England, and I shall commence my voyage in a few days. I part with you with the greatest regret; and I shall ever continue to feel the most lively interest for the honour and prosperity of the Government of the Raja of Mysore over which you preside."

"For six years I have been concerned in the affairs of the Mysore Government, and I have contemplated with the greatest satisfaction its increasing prosperity under your administration."

"Experience has proved the wisdom of the arrangement which was first made of the Government of Mysore, and I am convinced that under no other management would it have been possible for the British Government to derive such advantages from the country which you have governed, as I have enjoyed in the various difficulties with which we have contended since your authority was established."

"Every principle of gratitude, therefore, for many acts of personal kindness to myself, and a strong sense of the public benefits which have been derived from your administration, render me anxious for its continuance and for its increasing prosperity, and in every situation in which I may be placed you may depend upon it that I shall not fail to bear testimony of my sense of your merits upon every occasion that may offer, and that I shall suffer no opportunity to pass by, which I may think favourable for rendering you service."

"Upon the occasion of my taking leave of you, I must take the liberty to recommend to you to persevere in the laudable path which you have hitherto followed. Let the prosperity of the country be your great object; protect the ryots and traders and allow no man, whether vested with authority or otherwise, to oppress them with impunity; do justice to every man; and attend to the wholesome advice which will be given to you by the British Resident; and you may depened upon it, that your Government will be as prosperous and as permanent as I wish it to be."

In 1806 Maharani Lakshammanni arranged for the marriage of the young Maharaja, but had to defer it on account of the prevalence of small-pox. Major Wilks hearing of it informed Purniah of vaccination as a preventive which had been newly discovered in England. The Maharani consented to its being tried on the bride by the Residency Surgeon. It was successful, and the Government of Madras, hearing of it, issued a notification commending the example of the Mysore Royal Family to its subjects.

In 1806 Dewan Purniah preferred a memorial that the Dewanship be made hereditary in his family. The Governor while discountenancing the request agreed that his meritorious services deserved a commensurate reward. His income as Dewan was 6000 Kantheeroy pagodas in salary and 19000 pagodas in commission, making a total of 25,000 pagodas or Rs. 75,000 per annum. At a public Durbar held in 1807 Yalandur Taluk with an assessment approximating to the above amount was conferred on him as a perpetual jahagir.

In 1809, in consequence of the abolition of an allowance called tentage to the officers in the Madras army, the garrison at Seringapatam rebelled. After driving the Mysore troops out of the fort, they seized the treasury, blew up the bridges, loaded the guns, formed a committee of safety, and sent out a detachment which captured a sum of pagodas on its way to the paymaster. The mutineers also summoned to their assistance two battalions from Chitaldrug and Bednore. The Resident thereupon applied to Dewan Purniah for assistance to hold

the mutineers in check till help came from Bangalore. The Dewan sent 3000 Cavalry to invest Seringapatam and hold up supplies. Meanwhile the Chitaldrug battalion came, and it was held up at Nagamangala. Before long the Bangalore detachment arrived and brought the mutineers to submission. Seringapatam thereafter was abandoned as a military centre, and given back to the State.

Maharani Lakshammanni, patient, long-suffering, wise, intrepid, but for whom the Yadava Dynasty would have terminated 160 years ago, gave up her mortal life in February 1810.

From 1766 to 1810, for 44 years, she was the ministering angel of the Dynasty, and ranks as the greatest woman of Mysore, and among the most remarkable women of the world in modern times. Born in 1742 as daughter of Kathi Gopalraj Urs, of the Mysore Royal Clan, in 1759 she was married to Maharaja Krishnaraja Wodayar II. That was just the time when Hyder Ali Khan was growing into strength and reducing royal authority. Within seven years after marriage Immadi Krishnaraja Wodayar died, and she was left the sole caretaker of the Royal family, and sole guardian of the royal title and royal interests. Luckily she found two staunch and faithful counsellors, Pradhan Thirumala Rao and Narayana Rao, descendants of a dynasty of royal councillors, and with their aid established an invisible long distance connection, tensile as a silken chord, strong as a steel rope, with the British empire-builders at Madras, and undaunted by frequent failures, by appeals,

persuasion, goading and inspiration kindled their valour and fanned their hatred of Tippu Sultan, until she brought about his downfall and achieved the restoration of her dynasty!

Her treaty with the British Government at Madras, at a time when Nawab Hyder Ali had reduced royalty in Mysore to a bare entity, contains terms as spirited as any that Queen Victoria in her grandeur, or Empress Maria Theresa in her palmy days could have dictated to her allies. They make refreshing reading:

"We will pay to the Company 3 lakhs of Kandirayen pagodas as soon as their troops shall have driven the enemy out of the Coimbatore, etc., countries on this side of the mountains. As soon as the English troops shall have ascended the Balaghat and possessed themselves of the forts of Ardmelli or Viseyburam we will pay the further sum of one lakh of pagodas. Upon the surrender of the fort of Mysore and the Government of the country being given to our Rana or whoever she may adopt, we will pay another lakh of pagodas. Upon the fall of Seringapatam we will pay 5 lakhs of pagodas, that is to say, in all, the sum of ten lakhs of pagodas, or 30 lakhs of rupees: that the Company shall not interfere in the management of the country nor for the managements for the peshcush and chout; that the killadars, amildars and other officers who may be appointed by the Rana for the management of the country shall be employed and none others in the collections, and that they shall be supported by the Company's troops in the execution of their office, and further that the Company shall not in-

terfere in the business of the Paleygars. That the Company will order to be delivered over to us whatever jewels, treasures, elephants, horses, military stores, and effects of every kind belonging to Hyder Naig and his officers that may be taken."

"That Hyder Naig and all prisoners of rank who may be taken shall be delivered over to the Rana's Officers. That Seringapatam being a place of religious worship no troops shall be stationed within the walls of that place except in time of actual war. That the Governor and Council of Madras must procure a Sunnud from the Company in England to confirm to our Rana and her successors the full possession and Government of all the countries that may be taken as before mentioned from Hyder Naig for ever and ever, upon the conditions herein definitely expressed."

While pursuing the foreign policy of the eclipsed Monarchy with such intrepid determination, she kept up the homely glamour and prestige of royalty with the same dazzle as ever before. A European prisoner of war at Seringapatam describes as follows the Dussara Durbar of 1883, when one usurper had given way to a greater and worse usurper, and Royal sovereignty had shrunk into a nut-shell:

"The Gentoo feast commenced this evening (23rd September 1783) which was continued according to custom for 9 days. The King of Mysore made his appearance in a verandah in front of his Palace about 7 o'clock. It is only on the occasion of this anniversary that he is visible to his nominal subjects."

"This young prince in whose name the family of Hyder Ali assuming only the title of Regent carry on the administration of Government, is allowed for himself and his family an annual pension. He is treated with all those marks of homage that are paid to crowned heads. In his name proclamation is made of war or peace, and the trophies of victory are laid at his feet. Like Kings too he has his guards. But those are appointed and commanded by the usurper of his throne whose authority and safety depend on the Prince's confinement. Yet such is the reverence that is paid by the people of Mysore to the blood of their ancient kings and so formidable are they rendered in their present state to the most vigorous character as well as powerful prince in the peninsula of Hindustan, that it is thought by the present Government of Mysore not to cut off the hereditary prince of Mysore according to the usual policy of despots but to adorn him with the pageantry of a crown."

"The spacious palace in which the young King of Mysore resides stands in a large square in the very centre of Seringapatam in an angle of which our prison was also situated. Hence we had an opportunity of enjoying the sight of this annual festival in which we were indulged during the whole time that it lasted. The curtains with which the gallery was hung being drawn up discovered the King seated on throne with numerous attendants on each side, some of whom fanned him while others scattered perfume on his long black-hair. The verandah was decorated with the finest hangings. The Raja was adorned with resplendent precious stones among which a

diamond of immense size and value shone with distinguished lustre. On an extended stage in the open square along the front of the palace, musicians, balladiers, and a species of gladiators entertained the King with his train in the gallery and the multitude that filled the square, with music, dancing, tumbling, wrestling, mock engagements and other pantomimical diversions. The ladies of His Majesty's harem as well as the European prisoners were on this occasion indulged with greater freedom than usual, being allowed to enjoy the spectacle through lattice windows, as well as other subjects of Mysore. The King sat motionless in great state for several hours, rose up and when he was about to retire, advancing to the edge of the gallery showed himself to the people who honoured him with marks of the most profound and even superstitious veneration. The curtains then dropped and His Majesty retired to the inner parts of the Palace."

Thus during the decades that it took for her hopes to be realised she kept on the lamp of Royalty aflame, and by God's grace had in her latter years the happiness of beholding that Royalty shine forth in an undimmed sky and with an untainted atmosphere. That she and the Royal family were not destroyed by Hyder or Tippu like the queen of Bednore and her family is due entirely to her tact, wisdom, and luck. That the Tiger-throne which sought to vanquish and destroy the Lion-throne was itself swept away was due to her ascetic devotion and pious endeavour, which won God's favour and received God's blessings. Thus she was instrumental in ensuring the continuity of the Yadava Dynasty on the throne of

Mysore, and in providing for the State an era of continued prosperity lasting 148 years. Thus carving for herself a name of lasting glory she passed into eternity in February 1810.

Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar was 16 years of age. Purniah was Dewan, and Hon'ble A. H. Cole was British Resident in the Mysore Court. The passing of Maharani Lakshammanni took away from the Palace a person who could command some kind of obedience from Dewan Purniah, and his conduct towards the Maharaja became more and more aggressive, insolent, and unbearable as the days passed. As all the chroniclers of Mysore so far have sought to slur over this period and shield Purniah from criticism, while leaving bare the Maharaja's own name to the odium of posterity, and as our object is to give a true portrait of the personnel of the Yadava Dynasty in all its light and shade, we have to present to our readers the following spot-light picture of the period taken from the official records. They are from an active participant of affairs of the period, Resident Cole, who was bound to give a true picture of the happenings to the British Governments at Madras and Bengal.

About the close of the year 1810 the Maharaja suggested to the Resident that it was his wish to become intimate with the affairs of his Government, that as yet he had been treated as a boy, but he hoped in future to learn public business, and he trusted to the Resident and the Dewan for instruction. After some negotiation between the Resident and the Dewan, the latter offered to

deliver over the seals of Government to the Maharaja and to submit to him every public paper for signature. Subsequently the Resident was able to report to the Government of Madras, " I am happy to inform you that matters are carried on between the Raja and Dewan in the most friendly and proper manner, and that each party appear to be entirely satisfied with their relative situations and duties."

But this did not last very long. Before six months the Resident had to report in May 1911, " My eyes have been gradually opened to the persuasion that old age, impaired faculties, and evil counsel have combined to disappoint my hopes, and have tended to degrade the character of a Minister whose former conduct had deservedly ranked him among the first statesmen who have ever existed in this country. Again to my utmost surprise he at one conference used all his abilities to convince me that he should incur the displeasure of the British Government for having admitted the Raja into a share of the Government as he said to my consternation and astonishment that he held the Dewanee—" by *contract*," and that his son or nephew or whoever he should choose to name as his successor would have a *lawful* claim to the situation of the Dewanee on his death or resignation ! "

" The Hon'ble the Governor in Council may believe how much I must have been startled at such a preposterous assertion and the encouragement of such foolish expectations in the breast of a man like Purniah, and I

need not state that I used my utmost arguments to convince him that he was grossly mistaken."

"Butcha Rao, the principal friend and adviser of Purniah, and who has participated in his fortunes through life (he is between 60 and 70, about the Dewan's own age), has been bed-ridden by infirmity for nearly a year, and his intellects have been frequently deranged during this period. The advice and assistance of this man whom we have generally looked upon as the second Dewan, have consequently been denied to Purniah, and as the latter has not had strength and activity for some years to transact matters with the aid of Butcha Rao only (as he used to do formerly), he has had recourse to the members of his own family, and has permitted Coopanna his brother-in-law, Hirniappah his nephew (young men under the age of twenty-five years) to be his principal agents, he himself generally superintending their conduct. As the old man's faculties have become impaired the influence of these young men has gained ascendency, and their personal interests have led them to encourage in Purniah a tenacity of power, that they might benefit under the shade of his authority."

"To these young men of whose dispositions I have great doubts, I principally attribute the Dewan's defective conduct, and there is another person of the name of Tippiah, an old follower and an old rogue whose counsels I know to have had great weight. Tippiah was detected in malpractices whilst Killadar of Mysore and Chief Engineer or Superintendent of Public Works, and Major Wilks insisted upon his being expelled from the Capital,

but he had influence enough to return to office, and the Dewan has employed him in superintending the great nullah."

"At a late hour last night," Resident Cole proceeds, "one of the principal Hurcars came to me with a message from His Highness and informed me that yesterday being the day for paying the wages of the different servants of Government, the Raja had sent to the Dewan's youngest son his monthly allowance, but that the amount had been returned by the Dewan himself with a reply that as neither he nor any of his family were servants of the Raja, his son could not accept the money; this answer was given to the Raja in open Durbar, before all the principal officers of Government, and as it was full of disrespect as well in its nature as in the mode and time of conveying it, His Highness forwarded the matter immediately to me, with a message that as he considered me to be the guardian of his honour, and the supporter of his Throne, he could therefore not notice the affair but as I should advise.

"I was greatly annoyed by this information, and I waited upon His Highness this morning to express my feelings on the occasion. At this interview, he said he was infinitely distressed by the disrespectful conduct of the Dewan but as he was an old man he would make every allowance for him. His Highness however hoped that I would impress upon Purniah's mind the impropriety he had been guilty of and the necessity of not persisting in such a disgraceful mode of conduct."

"I considered this act of the Dewan to be so derogatory to his character, and so very improper in every way, that I decided at once upon speaking to Purniah upon the subject in the presence of His Highness. I accordingly requested the Raja to send for his Minister that I might mildly remonstrate with him. On his approaching the Musnud I requested him to listen to me with patience, (this was induced by my having heard him exclaim loudly at the inner door of the Palace, "I am nobody's servant. I am my own master,") he said he would do anything which I desired him; I then told him, that his son had been guilty of a very great misconduct, and that I was certain he (Purniah) would not support him. The Dewan asked me the nature of it, in a very loud voice. I immediately stated the circumstance, requesting him at the same time to moderate his anger, as he was in the presence of the Raja."

"The old man replied that his son had done no wrong, he himself having returned the wages sent for the boy. I asked him how he could attempt to excuse such conduct, and said I should send his son to fall at the Raja's feet and demand pardon. He replied that his sons and himself acknowledged no master, for it was his determination and that of all his family, not to serve the Raja any longer."

"This was uttered with such clamour and violence of gestures that fearful of losing my temper or subjecting the Raja to an unbecoming scene of turbulence and madness, I told the Raja that the Dewan's want of self-command, and deficiency of respect to his liege Prince,

shocked me so much that I could endure it no longer. I therefore begged that he would permit the Dewan or me to retire, for so long as I was in His Highness's service, so long would I protect him from insult."

"Purniah immediately made his salam to me only, (for he would not salute the Throne), and in evident irritation retired."

"The Raja paid him the greatest respect, and even upon his departure, although the Dewan did not salute him, His Highness arose from his Throne and made salam."

"After the departure of the Dewan, I expressed by astonishment to His Highness that such a scene should have passed, and asked of him, if he knew the cause of it; he assured me that he was unable to solve the matter, but that it did not in the least surprise him, for that he had forborne to complain against Purniah, he had received repeated insults from him and never met with that respect which was due to his situation. He continued, "I have been fearful of complaining to you of the Dewan upon this subject, although it is one of serious vexation to me, lest you might suppose that I was impatient of control, and anxious to emancipate myself from the shackles of an old man, whom I should wish to consider as my father, and whom I would ever treat as such, would he but act towards me with common respect, and not always hold me out as a boy and a fool. But you have now been an eye-witness of the fact, and have perceived in my demeanour every consideration towards Purniah, which he on the contrary forgot himself, in

your presence, and even made that obeisance to you which he denied to my Throne."

"I assured the Raja that I was sensible of his very forbearing conduct towards the Dewan, and that no circumstance in a public shape had ever caused me so much annoyance as the indelicate and disrespectful conduct of his Minister."

We are tempted to remark with regard to the foregoing that if Purniah had behaved with the same insane arrogance towards his previous masters Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan, his life would not have been worth five minutes' purchase. He would have been blasted at the mouth of a gun, or trampled by the feet of an elephant. It shows how even the most intelligent and disciplined men will go completely off the rails when their ambition is thwarted or self-interest is threatened. Purniah's latter day ambition was to leave a dynasty and perpetuate the Dewanship in his family. There was also the anxiety that he had to account for a sum of about Rs. 43 lakhs, being the budget balance of his twelve years' Dewanship.

There is a further incident which Cole brings to light. He writes, "It is here requisite for me to mention that great caution was necessary for the security of the public money in the Dewan's house, as two of his family absolutely did take out of the public Toshekhana, whilst His Highness the Raja was at Nanjangud, jewels, etc., to the amount of one lakh and fourteen thousand pagodas; (or about Rs. 4½ lakhs), which they have acknowledged and offered to restore, and that, after the scene of

violence which I had the honour to detail, an attempt was made, and partly succeeded, in the night to remove some of the Sircar property from the house of Purniah which has always been situated in the heart of the Public Treasury forming the principal part of it."

And when a party of Government and Palace finance officers went to Purniah's house to classify the accounts and arrive at a settlement he became grossly abusive and flung the foulest epithets against the Maharaja. When the final accounting showed a balance of about 43 lakhs as due from Dewan Purniah, the Maharaja said that notwithstanding every indignity which he had suffered from him he would forego 19 lakhs of rupees and receive 24 lakhs in full settlement. He agreed to continue to him his monthly salary of Rs. 1500 even after retirement. This liberality and dignified forgiveness on the part of the Maharaja excited the utmost admiration in the Resident and the British authorities. Finally after a full consideration of all these happenings the Governor of Madras, on 23rd December 1811, signified his assent to the retirement of Purniah. And three months after retirement Purniah died on 27th March 1812.

Early in life he became an accountant under a wholesale merchant in Seringapatam named Annadana Setty who was supplier to Government during Hyder Ali's Sarvadhikariship. On one occasion there was difference of opinion between the Toshekhana and the supplier about the dues, and Purniah's figure given from memory was found to be correct to the pie. This impressed Hyder Ali and he was taken into the Toshekhana

as assistant accountant. On another occasion Hyder observing a log of timber floating down the Cauvery asked the attendant courtiers how it was that a log of such weight floated while even a small stone would sink. While the others could give no answer, Purniah wittily remarked that it was because the timber while growing had been nurtured with water, and that noble minds abhorred injuring even their ungrateful wards! Such readiness and resourcefulness won him Hyder Ali's favour and reliance. Another remarkable instance of Purniah's courage and efficiency is reported. During the campaign of Lord Cornwallis in the Third Mysore war, the British army made a night attack on the island of Seringapatam. Purniah had been wounded by a musket ball, but managed, without the notice of the English troops, to take back from the north bank of the river a number of camels laden with coins meant for the pay of the troops. With the first alarm the bags of coins were ordered to be loaded, and Purniah with the camels crossed over into the island without losing a single rupee!

While thus his faithfulness and talents have to be commended, the fact that after the fall of Tippu he urged the restoration of Tippu's son on the throne in preference to the heir of the Hindu royal family does not redound to his credit. His patrons Hyder and Tippu having died, there was no conflict of loyalty, and as a Hindu statesman he should have easily recognised the claim of the Hindu Dynasty which had never been dethroned or destroyed. That he did not do so should only be ex-

plained by the fact of his not being a Mysorean, and the motive of self-interest, arising from the fear that his own power would end if the Maharaja were restored. That has left a taint on his otherwise admirable reputation.

During Purniah's 12 years of Dewanship the revenue of the State from lands rose from Rs. 60 lakhs in the first year to 65 lakhs in the second, approximating to 71½ lakhs in 1807 and 1808, and then fell to Rs. 64 lakhs in 1809 and to 60½ lakhs the next year. The average total income of the State from all sources during his Dewanship amounted to about Rs. 86¼ lakhs. Purniah husbanded this revenue carefully and expended it on necessary military and civil requirements as well as on public works, and in payment of the subsidy. At the time of his retirement he had to account for a balance of about Rs. 43 lakhs. After getting about half of this amount waived he credited to the Maharaja's State account about Rs. 24 lakhs. The subsequent report that he had left a savings of Rs. 2 crores and that the Maharaja wasted it in wanton extravagance was a baseless canard, as there was no possible means of Purniah accumulating within 12 years such a large surplus after meeting substantial items of expenditure out of the State's limited resources.

On the assumption of the administration by the Maharaja, Sir George Barlow, Governor of Madras, wrote to congratulate him in the following terms: "The British Resident at the Court of your Highness having reported for my information that your Highness has assumed the management of the affairs of your Govern-

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ment, I have to express to Your Highness my congratulations on this happy occasion. I have learnt with particular gratification of the prudence and ability which Your Highness has so eminently displayed in the exercise of the functions of your exalted station. Such proofs of sound judgment and understanding reflect the highest honour on Your Highness and afford a happy presage of the continuance of those great and manifold advantages which have resulted from the connection which has subsisted between the British and Mysore Governments since your accession to the musnud of your ancestors."

Dewan Purniah enjoyed the status of both Dewan and Regent of the Maharaja who was a minor. On his retirement his successor Bakshi Balaji Rao was vested with the duties of Dewan, proper, subject to the decisions of the Maharaja in major matters. That the administration proceeded smoothly and satisfactorily is shown by a report of Resident Cole to the Madras Government some months later, that the conduct of the Raja was everything that could be expected from a sensible and grateful mind, that his attention to business was almost indefatigable, and that his attachment and devotion to the British Government were not to be improved or surpassed.

The Maharaja's official daily routine commenced with a perusal of letters submitted by the Anche or Postal Bakshi. On these whatever possible immediate orders were recorded. Where the letters dealt with matters of importance orders were passed after consultation with the Dewan or Departmental Heads. The Anche Bakshi had also a staff of postal clerks spread over the State

whose duty it was not only to transmit letters but also to report about local affairs. The postal Bakshi had to bring such affairs to the notice of the Maharaja.

The official heirarchy was in the ascending order of Amildars, Foujdars and Dewan. The administrative functions of Government were divided into 18 departments under the heads, Subsidy, Cavalry, Infantry, Judicial, Palace, Revenue, Police, Post, Cattle, Foujdary, Dewan's office, Toshekhana, Treasury, Taxes, Stipends, Muzrai, Public Works, and Miscellaneous.

The income from land revenue which was 60 lakhs of rupees in 1811 rose to 71 by 1815-16, and averaged at about 66 lakhs during the second decade of the Maharaja's reign, and at Rs. 57 lakhs during the years of the third decade. The total revenue which was Rs. 77 lakhs in 1801, averaged about 86 lakhs during Dewan Purniah's regime and during the first decade of the Maharaja's rule, and shrank to 67 lakhs during the second decade. There were two famines in 1811 and 1823. A large amount of specie was imperatively needed every month to pay the instalments of the subsidy as well as to maintain a military strength of 4000 as per agreement with the British. The slightest delay in these payments was taken serious notice of by the Resident, and occasioned most unfavourable reports to the Madras Government.

Meanwhile in every Department the establishment and expenses increased. The Judicial Department was extended by opening more courts in order to meet the growing work. Public Works such as restoration of

tanks and canals and construction of roads and buildings demanded larger grants. The gradual reduction of British military camps in the State reduced the trade in food and other commodities, and the lack of demand resulted in a lowering of the price. Nevertheless steady progress was made in useful public works such as the Devambudhi tank, Narasambudhi tank, Hullalli anekat and canal, Lakshmanatheertha anekat, and canals in Ashtagram, Bettadapur and Periapatna.

The population increased considerably and stood at 45 lakhs about 1925. There were 32425 villages and 92 forts and 31 hill-forts. The capital city of Mysore was improved considerably by the construction of new Agrahars, and the town of Arikuthara, the birth-place of Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar's father, was developed and renamed Chamarajanagar.

In order to meet the steadily increasing expenditure it was necessary that the income should increase or at least remain steady. But on the other hand the fluctuations under land-revenue were violent, and borrowing by Government either in the form of State loans by public subscription or from private sources had not yet come into vogue. In any case it was necessary that the income should be steadied, and in order to do so a new system was introduced of farming land-revenue on what was called the "Sharat system", by which the Amildar of a taluq was directed to collect a specific amount by way of land-revenue and house-tax. Even in the time of Purniah certain Amildars had to give an under-taking that an allotted amount would be forthcoming from their

taluqs. This practice seems to have become extended in Krishnaraja Wodayar's time. It is possible that while Purniah's iron hand kept under check any oppression or malpractices the system might give rise to, in Krishnaraja Wodayar's time many of the Amildars were close relations or proteges of persons influential in the Palace or with the Resident. Therefore they tended to become unbearably oppressive and exacting.

One aspect of the administration of the young Ruler was highly gratifying. When the Pathan free-booter Amir Khan invaded Nagapur in 1910 a contingent of Mysore Horse 1500 strong under the command of Barry Close was despatched, and was able to drive him back and capture his capital Seronje in Malwa.

In 1917 the Mysore Horse was requisitioned to quell the Pindaries in the Nizam's dominions. The Pindaries are described as pests to society in the early part of the 19th century. Every villain who had given the slip to his creditors, was expelled for flagrant crimes, or was disgusted with an honest and peaceable life, was found in their ranks. They generally invaded a country in bands of one thousand to four thousand men. On reaching the frontier of the country which they had marked for their operations, they generally dispersed in small parties of two or three hundred and advanced with such rapidity that the unfortunate inhabitants became aware of their approach only by their depredations. They were not encumbered with tents or baggage, but carried only their arms and slept on their saddle cloth. Both men and horses were accustomed to long marches, and never

halted except to refresh themselves, collect plunder or commit the vilest outrages on the female population. They subsisted on the grain and provisions which they found in villages, took everything which was available, and destroyed all that they could not carry away. In January 1817 a British officer moving with a body of troops in the country near Bedare in the Nizam's territory, accompanied by a body of Mysore cavalry under Annaji Rao, received information that a Pindari force was camped about 8 miles from him. He approached and surprised the Pindari camp and dispersed them with considerable loss. The same year the Holkar of Indore and his Pindari allies were defeated in the battle of Mahidpore. In this battle the Mysore horse under Bakshi Bheema Rao, nephew of Wellesley's Bishtopant, captured much booty in the shape of elephants, camels, jewels, horses and money, valued at 80 lakhs of rupees, exclusive of 5 lakhs presented to Maharaja Krishnaraja Wodayar. A sword and belt belonging to the Holkar was presented by the Maharaja to Sir John Malcolm in acknowledgement of the kindness received from him by the Mysore army.

In the last Mahrata War when Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao was overthrown and took to flight, Sir John Malcolm pursued him with a detachment including 2500 Mysore horse under Bhakshis Bheema Rao and Rama Rao. When the gallant army returned to Mysore it was received by the Maharaja at a grand reception, and the two Bakshis were recipients of many marks of honour, two Jagirs were conferred on them, and an elephant was

presented to Bakshi Rama Rao on which he could ride seated in a howdah.

With regard to these campaigns, the Governor General, Marquis of Hastings, writing to the Maharaja observed, "It has given me great pleasure to learn through the letters of the Hon'ble Cole Sahib that Your Highness has agreed to the suggestions made by this Government to subdue the Pindaris who are a source of great trouble and mischief, and that Your Highness has shown great earnestness in promoting the welfare and happiness of the people living in the British territory. I am also informed through a letter by the same Hon'ble gentleman that Your Highness in token of your sincere friendship and hearty co-operation, has immediately despatched your troops the number of which has far exceeded what was stipulated for and has thus added to your invincible arm. And I am confident that your help is most opportune and is of great value to us. All this I cannot but attribute to your sincerity and genuine love towards this Government. Your sincerity shines to the best advantage when I see that Your Highness has not only carried out the Treaty obligations but has also gone so far as to help this Government with your troops and ammunition even beyond the limits of expectation."

Some months later after the campaigns had come to a victorious conclusion he wrote again, "I take this opportunity to express my pleasure at the distinguished services rendered by the Mysore troops, and on account of the zeal and sincere love shown by Your Highness towards this Government. And I hope that Your High-

ness has by this time become fully aware of the success achieved by your troops along with the British forces. I am also informed by the British Officers about the valour and tactfulness which your troops have shown in performing their duty which it gives me great pleasure to bring to Your Highness's notice. Bakshi Rama Rao and Bhima Rao have already won distinction and become popular, Your Highness having conferred on them royal gifts in appreciation of their services. I must assure Your Highness that this Government will ever keep in view the welfare and progress of your people which will of course bring both the Governments nearer to each other."

Such approbation was very satisfactory, and possibly tended to make the young Maharaja less alert in matters of internal administration than he would have been if he were aware that the Resident would be on the watch for complaints against the Maharaja's rule, so that he could make out a case for dispossession of the Maharaja of his power.

However records are forthcoming to show that the Maharaja issued well-thought out orders with regard to rural administration aiming at the well-being of the people. In the year 1819, when the Maharaja was only 25 years old, he issued elaborate directions to the Amildars or officers in-charge of the Taluq administration. They related to 21 heads, such as the procedure of a new Amildar receiving charge of papers, grains and other Government property from old Amildar, procedure for collection of land-revenue, investigation about defal-

cations, etc., by the previous Amildar and Sheristadar, checking the accounts of the collections of the previous Amildar, encroachments and unauthorised occupation by ryots, account of taxes received in the form of grains, duties of the Amildar and Sheristadar at head-quarters during the months from September to November in preparation of annual demand and collection accounts, touring, inspection, and organisation during December and January for the water-supply and cultivation of grain and sugar-cane during the next season, tour programme of villages and enquiry into ryots' complaints so as to procure due profit, annual repairs of tanks useful for irrigation, disposal of unclaimed property, incurring expenditure as per general authorisation, fresh sanction or new orders, preparation of monthly receipts and expenditure and collection of instalments, granting loans to impecunious ryots, providing land and hut for agricultural families who have migrated from one taluq to another, removing tiger and other pests which are destructive to agricultural cattle, maintenance of the rule that Taluq officials like Amildar, Sheristadar and postal clerk should not procure lands within their official jurisdiction, and enquiry into cases of Government lands having been leased out by previous officials for lower rents than before out of bad motives. The directions under each head are in lucid detail, and are thoughtfully directed towards maintaining official discipline and rendering of the utmost possible good to the rural public. They have not been improved upon during over a century.

That the land-tax authorised by the Maharaja was not oppressive or exorbitant is shown by the following report by the British Commission. "Irrigated land in the east derives its value chiefly from the water available for it, and in order to bring that water over the land at all seasons, it becomes necessary that a considerable expense should be incurred whether in forming a tank and water-courses leading from it, or in damming up running streams and cutting canals or aqueducts to convey the water for agricultural purposes. These works require an outlay of money which few individuals or body of individuals of the cultivating classes could afford to advance. The money for their original construction and to keep them in constant repairs, therefore is paid by the State which having thus advanced its capital has a just right (independent of the right of sovereignty) to share in the produce of the land, brought to perfection through the means of that advance of capital. If we assume the right of sovereignty to be one-fourth only of the whole crop, 20 per cent will not be an undue return for the expenses already incurred and the annual incidental charges for maintaining these water works in proper repair. Now 45 per cent of the gross produce is the amount which the Mysore Government claims from all lands irrigated by Public Works, and as long as the money payments are limited to the actual value of the produce in the market the inhabitants of Mysore will not have much reason to complain. The present land-tax of Mysore though heavy and latterly much aggravated by the great want of rain for the last three or four years, does not press so

heavily on the great mass of the people as in many of our own Districts where an attempt has been made at permanent settlement in the form of cash payments at a rate which never has been nor ever can be paid! The great cause of complaint of the people however has been the oppressive extra exactions of the venal local authorities against whom it was found vain to seek for redress."

Since this period of Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar's reign has been subjected to severe criticism, and his name has come to be very much maligned by a persistent campaign of misrepresentation we might dwell a little on the personnel of the administration and of his own part in its working.

Let us remember that when Purniah left the Dewanship the Maharaja was only a boy of 16. The world has not produced any boy in any age who could personally direct the administration of a State in all its details. It is impossible for a boy of 16 to have the experience, knowledge, and talent necessary for running a State with discipline and efficiency. As in the case of Chikkadevaraja Wodayar and Kantheeravanarasaraja Wodayar, wise and experienced counsellors are required to train the young Ruler in the requisites of statesmanship, in the practice of day to day checking of the administration, in making his hand reach the farthest nut of the administrative machinery. There is no evidence that young Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar was foolish, vicious or cruel. He was intelligent, active, kind and generous. If Purniah had been a patriot and not blinded by his personal dynastic ambitions he would have initiated the

Maharaja into the secrets of administration. But he chose to become unfriendly to the Maharaja and left him without a guide.

Purniah's own coaching in administration was under the cruel hand of Hyder. Hyder's method was that of the lion-tamer. Though he sometimes rewarded his servants, the principal motive was fear. Two hundred people with whips stood always ready to use them. Not a day passed on which numbers were not flogged. "Hyder applied the same cat to all transgressors alike, gentlemen and horse-keepers, tax-gatherers and his own sons, and when he has inflicted such a public scourging upon the greatest gentlemen, he does not dismiss them. No! they remain in the same office and bear the marks of stripes on their backs as public warnings. For he seems to think that almost all people who seek to enrich themselves are devoid of all principles of honour," writes Rev. Schwartz, a German member of the Danish Mission at Tanjore who was sent by the Madras Government to negotiate peace with Hyder Ali.

"Once of an evening I went into the Palace and saw a number of men of rank sitting round about. Their faces betrayed a conscious terror, and Hyder's Persian Secretary told me that they were Collectors of Districts, but to me they appeared as criminals expecting death. Few however could give a satisfactory account, and consequently the most dreadful punishments were daily inflicted. I hardly know whether I shall mention how one of these gentlemen was tied up, two men came with their whips and cut him dreadfully and with sharp nail

was his flesh torn asunder and then scourged afresh, his shrieks rending the air. Although the punishments are so dreadful, yet there are people enough who seek such employments and outbid each other!"

"When I came to Hyder he desired me to sit down alongside of him. The floor was covered with most exquisite tapestry. He received me very politely, listened in a friendly manner and seeming pleasure to all what I had to say. He spoke very openly and without reserve and said that the Europeans had broken their solemn engagements and promises but that nevertheless he was willing to live in peace with them. At last he directed a letter to be written, had it read unto me and said, "what I have spoken with you that I have shortly mentioned in the letter. You will explain the whole more at length."

"When I sat near Hyder Naik I particularly observed in what a regular succession and with what rapid despatch his affairs proceeded one after the other. Whenever he made a pause in speaking, an account was read to him of the districts and letters received. He heard them and ordered the answers immediately. The writers ran, wrote the letters, read them and Hyder affixed his seal. Thus one evening a great many letters were expedited. Hyder can neither read nor write, but his memory is excellent. He orders one man to write a letter and to read it to him. Then he calls another to read it again. If the writer has in the least deviated from his orders, his head pays for it!"

That was the school in which Dewan Purniah had been trained. That like a stormy petrel he thrived during two such hurricane regimes as those of Hyder and Tippu would imply sufficient astuteness and sufficient adaptability. And when he became Dewan Regent he was pretty strict though not severe with defaulting officials. It was an invariable rule with him in case of abuse of power, defalcation or other delinquency in the service of the State, to dismiss the Amildar or other officer found guilty of such conduct, and he was also declared incapable of being re-employed ever after in the Government's service. In the early years the rigid observance of this rule is said to have caused considerable embarrassment to Purniah, but later when it became known that he was unyielding in this respect, the purity of the public service gradually improved.

Not that favouritism did not exist in the days of Purniah. Arunachala Pandit was an official colleague of his during the days of Hyder and Tippu. He had eight sons, and it seems, Purniah out of regard for the father gave an Amildari to every one of them!

On Krishnaraja Wodayar's assumption of administrative control when he was yet 16 years old, the real administration passed into the hands of certain Bakshis or administrative heads, appointments began to be distributed among their pets and favourites, and punishments for official offences became a thing of the past, and attainment of wealth became the one object of officials generally. The position of the Maharaja as such made it humanly impossible for him to check official corruption. Even

Tippu who was 36 years old when he succeeded his father, who had been trained in his father's ways of administration, and who possessed even studious habits, would not control oppression by his trusted Minister. Says a Muslim writer, " Mir Sadak by various artifices acquired great ascendency over Tippu's mind, so much so, that when he heard complaints against this villain from the mouths of his Amirs, he listened to them but extinguished the fire of his royal anger with the pure water of clemency and forbearance; he did not in any way discountenance or punish him, but on the contrary still strove to raise him to the highest dignities, and threw the mantle of mercy and kindness over his crimes." And says Colonel Wilks, " On one occasion the ryats of a Taluk at some distance from Seringapatam, trusting to the authentic evidence of the village accounts and the plain simplicity of their case assembled to the number of 6000 along with the village accountants, to submit their grievances to their Ruler at Seringapatam. Their spokesmen were admitted to an audience. The accounts of the sums extorted were indisputable, and Mir Sadak frankly admitted the facts, but affirmed, falsely, that the whole had been carried to the account of nuzerana, which in the eyes of Tippu covered any enormity. Mir Sadak in a separate interview with the land-holders gave his own explanation of the Nuzerana demanded by necessity, represented to them the Sultan's grief and displeasure at the ingratitude of his subjects, and pledged himself that no further contributions should be levied if they consented to an augmentation of 30 per cent on the normal revenue.

He then told them that he had in contemplation to relieve them for a small commutation, from two sources of exaction which he knew to be severe, the money-changers' shops of the Government and the tobacco monopoly. He then returned to the Sultan and represented the ill-consequence of countenancing groundless complaints, and the admission of the fact which he held in his hands in the spontaneous assent of the ryots to add 30 per cent to their annual payments which the deputation at the door was ready to confirm, but that they were particularly anxious for the abolition of the monopoly of the money-changers and of tobacco, and that they would perhaps consent on these conditions to a further small augmentation. The Sultan was delighted with the proposal and a compromise was made of 7½% on these two accounts, making the total increase equal to 37½ per cent!"

Thus even under a grim man like Tippu Sultan there were powerful men who had raised mendacious corruption to an art, and the public were ground as under a mill-stone. In Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar's time, the boy-hood of the Ruler and inexperience of the tortuous ways of officialdom left the field free for the misdeeds of the Amils and other public officials.

Let us now obtain a glimpse of the men who ran that administration. From 1811 onwards, after the retirement of Purniah the successive Dewans were Bargir Bakshi Balaji Rao, Sowar Bakshi Ranna Rao, Baboo Rao, Siddaraje Urs, Lingaraje Urs and Venkate Urs. The Residents during the same period were A. H. Cole, and J. A. Casamaijor. Cole was a younger son of Lord

Enniskillen, joined the Madras Civil Service and continued as Resident of Mysore from 1809 to 1824. Casamaijor came in 1824 and remained till 1834.

According to Cole himself His Highness was respected by all ranks in the Government, and he appeared to Cole to have more sense than any man in the Court." Writing to the Government of Madras Cole observed "His Highness appeals to me upon every point, and I can assert with confidence that the British Resident has even more control now, than he had at any former period, and I hope the result will prove that public matters continue to be conducted in the most satisfactory manner. It is due to truth, and I feel it to be my duty, to state that the conduct of the Raja has been everything which could be expected from a sensible and grateful mind, and his forbearance is almost incredible, his attention to business indefatigable, his abilities premature, and his attachment and devotion to the British Government are not to be improved or surpassed."

Of the Dewans, Rama Rao was a Commander of cavalry under Hyder and Tippu, and was virtually Dewan of Mysore after the retirement of Purniah. He came from Badami in the Mahrata country accompanied by two kinsmen, Bhima Rao of Annigere and Krishna Rao of Hanagal. He was appointed Foujdar of Nagar in 1799 by Purniah, and continued there till 1805. By his influence the public offices of importance under him were mostly filled by his relations and the members of the Annigere and Hanagal families, and a powerful party entirely in his interest was formed in that part of the

State and maintained itself in strength till 1830. Rama Rao's successors as Foujdar from 1805 to 1825 were persons mostly allied to him by blood or marriage, his nephews, nephew-in-law, and grand-nephew.

Babu Rao also continued from the Moslem period, and had become Sheristedar of the Dewan's Office. From 1799 he continued in that office under the new regime, till in 1818 his son was appointed to succeed him as Sheristedar and he was made Dewan. He held that post off and on till 1926, and on the assumption of office by the British Commission he was again appointed Dewan under it. Venkate Urs was an Amildar, and became Foujdar and then Dewan.

In the Royal court were a few persons called Moosahebs, who were consulted on public matters. Bakshi Rama Rao was also Mooṣaheb for a time. Among others Veene Venkatasubbiah has come to be regarded as a very wicked and unprincipled person, who had got into favour with the young Maharaja. Through that favour he had got for his relatives seven Amildaries in the Nagar Division, and the Customs office at Kavaledrug. He and Hanagal Krishna Rao were in league to protect Amildars and other officials who became unpopular in that region. Resident Cole once got him removed from the King's vicinity. But Venkatasubbiah used one of Cole's own favourites, Ramaswamy Mudaliar, to induce Cole to get him restored !

Ramaswamy Mudaliar was a minor official under Major Wilks who was Resident before Cole. Then he

became Dubash to Cole, and through Cole's favour Anche Bakshi or Post Master General to the Maharaja. During Casamaijor's time Ramaswamy Mudaliar became influential both in the Palace and in the Residency, and served as a cover and shield to defaulting officials. Chowdiah, a clerk under the Residency surgeon became Residency Sheristedar through the mediation of Ramaswamy Mudaliar. He got his son's father-in-law, Belavadi Subba Rao, appointed as his colleague in office. And during Casamaijor's time he became the medium of information to Casamaijor and the medium of communication between the Resident and the Maharaja, and in order to serve his own nefarious purposes completely prejudiced the Resident against the Maharaja. He and Venkatasubbiah and Hanagal Krishna Rao became a blackmailing triumvirate whose unchecked activities served to fan popular discontent which shot up into flame in 1830.

Another Moosaheb was Gangadhara Rao, son of Butcha Rao, the deputy of Dewan Purniah. He was incharge of the Toshakhana. Vyasa Rao was another adviser who had put in long service under Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan. He was a Bakshi in the Adalat Court under Purniah, and on the Maharaja's assumption of control he became a Moosaheb. He was to be in attendance when petitions were being received and had to advise as to their disposal. Toshakhana Nanjappa was a tool of Venkatasubbiah, and another tool, Annoo Rama Rao, was another Moosaheb.

These officials of the Palace and the Residency were the human wires which pulled the administration during

these two decades, and they made the Resident as well as the Maharaja puppets who trod the path carpeted for them by these self-seeking schemers. Time and again there were misreprentation and complaints against the Maharaja to the Resident, and the Resident eagerly swallowed everything that he heard, and sent budget after budget of prejudicial reports to the Government of Madras.

The Resident made out that the Revenue was declining rapidly, that the expenditure had increased, and that within fifteen years almost the whole of the treasure amassed by Dewan Purniah, amounting to above 73 lakhs of Kanthearoy pagodas, or nearly 2¼ crores of rupees, had been dissipated, and every department was in arrears.

And anxious to look into this misunderstanding, and afraid that if the army's pay also got into arrears they would become mutinous, Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, arrived in Mysore on the 16th September 1826. After ceremonial visits on the 17th and 18th he held a conference with the Maharaja on the 19th, and observed that it was then five and twenty years since the Maharaja had been restored to the throne of his ancestors, that during a great part of it the affairs of the country had been prosperously conducted, but latterly, from a variety of causes they had fallen into some disorder which if not corrected would prove extremely detrimental to both Sircars, that he had come to cooperate with the Maharaja in devising a remedy, that it was his earnest desire that no event should occur to compel the Company to have recourse to the 4th article of the Treaty authorising

assumption of a portion of the country, but that His Highness might himself, and his descendants after him, long continue to enjoy the sovereignty of Mysore, but that there must be order in its affairs, because if the affairs of the Mysore Sircar were without order, there could be no hope that the prosperity of His Highness's house would last. He pointed out that the Treaty imposed certain duties on both the Governments and that, if the revenue declined, if the disbursement exceeded the receipts, if the troops from not being paid got discontented, there was danger to treaty, because His Highness in such conditions would not be able to fulfil its conditions, and the British in their own interests would have to give effect to the 4th article. Therefore he suggested that His Highness should furnish annual accounts to the British Government, so that they would be able to judge the approximate state of affairs.

The Maharaja agreed with many of the observations, and explained that the decline in revenue was due to cholera and other unavoidable causes, and also from the misconduct of a Dewan who had been appointed against his wishes. The Resident who was present demurred to this and said that the Maharaja had agreed to the appointment. The Maharaja said that things would improve if he were allowed to manage without a Dewan. The Governor pointed out that whatever may have caused the decline, bad seasons or bad management, the fact was that the income was less than the revenue, and that if the revenue could not be improved the expenditure would have to be lessened. As to doing without a Dewan Sir

Thomas remarked that no Prince in his situation could carry on the duties of a Government of so extensive a country as Mysore without the aid of a Dewan, that a General Superintendence of the conduct of the Dewan and other great officers would furnish ample employment for His Highness. His Highness further complained that the Resident's servants, especially Mr. Krishna Rao, interfered in the administration. The Resident denied this and said his men only met the Raja's men just enough to facilitate the disposal of official matters between the two Governments.

The fact perhaps was that both the Maharaja's and the Resident's men were rogues, and fattened by playing their masters one against the other. Each of the latter believed his own servants implicitly, and deemed the others mischievous. With regard to the person Krishna Rao, against whose interference the Maharaja protested to the Governor, the opinion conveyed to the latter by the Resident himself was that he was an old servant of the Residency, a native of Mysore, connected with many of the principal inhabitants, and thereby enabled to inform the Resident of the state of the country, of the abuses of power, of the low pursuits of the Rajah, and of the waste of his treasure on low favourites. This would imply that the Resident himself was an ascetic, had no low favourites, and did not waste favours on them! It was certainly not so. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, who was made Jahagirdar of Shivasamudram and was conferred the hereditary title of "Janopakarakartha," and Chowdayya proved the contrary. The man Krishna Rao was valuable to

the Resident as carrying tales against the Maharaja No wonder that the Maharaja was wroth with him !

Sir Thomas Munro left with the opinion that the Rajah was less tenacious on great objects with regard to the country at large, than on minor ones which concerned the personal interests of his favourites. He would appoint no Dewan who was not acceptable to the British, and would furnish, though at first perhaps with some delay, the accounts required of his revenue and expenditure. But he would persist in lavishing money upon his favourites, in appointing at their desire low and unworthy persons to public offices; and in conniving at their corrupt practices in spite of all the advice which the Resident may offer. As interference in such matters could answer no purpose but to irritate the Rajah, it ought to be carefully avoided, unless the evil be carried to such a height as to affect the resources of the country.

It was a wise opinion, and did credit to Sir Thomas Munro's judgment. He had still doubts about one or two points, which he desired Resident Cole to clarify. In the case that he made out against the Maharaja, Cole had stated that Dewan Purniah had left over two crores of rupees when he retired, and that the Maharaja had not only squandered the whole of it but had got into heavy debts. Sir Thomas Munro particularly asked that, as according to the Resident the annual income during Purniah's time was about 30 lakhs of pagodas, and the expenses about 26½ lakhs of pagodas, the mere surplus of about 3 lakhs of pagodas could not have amounted to over 70 lakhs of pagodas within the ten years that Purniah

was Dewan. Cole's explanation is that there were some miscellaneous items besides the regular revenue, and that he had some notes to the effect in the writing of Purniah's son, and he adds naively,—" There can be no doubt that the amount was made over to the Maharaja in 1810." Governor Munro further asked that as the Maharaja's income was said to be about 26 lakhs of pagodas and his expenditure about 26·90 lakhs of pagodas, the deficit could not explain the disappearance of the treasure of 70 lakhs of pagodas! The Resident gave some evasive reply.

If the Resident Cole of 1825 were not the same A. H. Cole who was Resident in 1910, there might have been some excuse for the gross misrepresentation that he is guilty of perpetrating in order to besmirch the name of the Maharaja at the instance of his tale-bearers. It is the supposed squandering of this imaginary vast amount which in the minds of his critics magnified the minor frailties of Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar into criminal follies for which he had to forfeit his Kingdom and permit his name to be bandied in the Hall of Wesminster and the columns of the news-sheets of London.

We now proceed to disprove Cole through his own means.

Writing on 18th September 1811 to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras on the topic of Purniah's proposed retirement, Resident Cole stated, " In one of my several conferences with Purniah, that Minister having solicited me to examine the accounts which were to be made out against him, from a convic-

tion that my constant good feeling towards him would induce me to do him strict justice, I obtained his sanction to name three referees from among the principal officers of Government on whom the Raja, the Dewan, and Resident could have a firm confidence, and whom we could severally entrust with the arbitration of this important affair. Rama Rao, Balaji Rao, and Subba Rao were agreed to by all parties, and the Raja and the Dewan both bound themselves to abide by the decision of these officers. They accordingly inspected the accounts, and a sum of 14,15,729 pagodas was adjudged by them to be the balance remaining against Purniah. The accounts were submitted to the Dewan for inspection, and each head of the enclosed memorandum was admitted as due by that Minister: "By referring to the accompanying document the Hon'ble the Governor in Council will perceive that a sum of Rs. 6,69,749 has been actually paid by the Dewan, that the jewels taken away by his relations from the public Treasury have been restored to the amount of Rs. 1,14,000, and that a balance of Rs. 6,31,979 for money paid in charity to Brahmins without authority, and for the expenses of Purniah's family, payment of servants, etc., still remains unliquidated. The Dewan having objected to refund the amount of these sums, and the Raja having referred to me as to the propriety of the Minister's objections, I informed His Highness that I considered the money paid in "Khyraus" to surpass in an infinite degree the limits of economy, that this excess of expenditure ought consequently to be refunded by the Dewan, and that I was not aware of any rule by

which Purniah could claim a right to charge his private expenditure in the public accounts. I however submitted to His Highness my opinion that in the event of the Dewan expressing contrition for his past conduct, it would be an act of princely liberality, highly creditable to the Raja, were His Highness to forego the necessity of Purniah's refunding the latter sum of 2,42,378 pagodas used by him for household expenses. The Raja replied in the most handsome manner that it was not his wish to distress the Dewan in any way, that he would, notwithstanding every indignity which he had suffered from him, forgive him the restoration of both balances, *viz.*, 3,89,600 Khyraus to Brahmins and 2,42,379 private expenses, and he would continue to him the payment of his monthly salary of 500 pagodas so long as he lived. This liberality and dignified forgiveness on the part of the Raja excited in my mind the utmost admiration, and I informed him that if the Dewan had a particle of good sense remaining I was confident he would appreciate with the most submissive gratitude the kindness which His Highness evinced towards him. The Dewan was affected by the noble character of the Raja which he acknowledged he did not merit, and said he would accept with the greatest gratitude the bounty of His Highness."

The memorandum authorised by the Resident reads as follows :—

"In account against Purniah, Dewan, from the year Siddartee A.D. 1799 to the year Promodoota 1810 A.D. Kaurteek Boula Amavasya :—

Amounting to Kanteeroy Pagodas		14,15,729	
Received on account of the above in ready cash	6,69,750		
In jewels restored to the Public Treasury	1,14.000		
		7,83,750	
Balance due		6,31,979	
Khyraus to Brahmins *viz.*		3,89,600	
Unauthorised expenses on houses built for Dewan and family	78,398		
Paid to family servants	54,305		
Household and table expenses of Dewan during 12 years	1,09,676		
		2,42.379	
			6,31,979

(Sd.) A. H. COLE,
Ag. British Resident.

Thus in 1811 Resident Cole authoritatively reported to Madras Government that elaborate enquiry by financial officers had provéd that in the final accounting of Dewan Purniah's 12 years' administration there was a surplus of 14,15,729 pagodas, or about 43 lakhs of rupees which he had to account for. Out of that he credited only a sum of 7,83,750 pagodas and was not able to recoup the balance of 6,31,979 pagodas. That is, while his actual salary was 72,000 pagodas for the 12 years, he had taken nearly nine times that amount out of public funds for his own use! He was liable to be charged for

misfeasance of public money, but the Maharaja was generously pleased to excuse him. This was applauded by the Resident as well as the Madras Government in superlative terms as a high-souled and magnificent act. Thus in 1811 the treasure of over 2 crores of rupees supposed to have been saved by Purniah by wise husbanding of the State's resources did not exist even in the imagination of any-body. But years later, in 1825, Resident Cole cooked up a case aganist the Maharaja on the plea of having squandered this mythical amount. His evidence was some scraps of paper in the writing of a son of Purniah. On such myths and legends often do the events of history turn!

Sir Thomas Munro advised the Maharaja to be careful in his expenses and to get accounts prepared annually, and returned to Madras. Cole left Mysore soon after, leaving behind the legend of the 2 crores of rupees treasure, and Casamaijor came as Resident. Governor Sir Thomas Munro died in 1827 of cholera at Gootti.

With the best will of the Maharaja, the officialdom continuing as it was, things did not improve very much. Local officials, related mostly to the persons influential at the Court and at the Residency and secure in their protection indulged both in extortions and in misfeasance of public money. They even went further. Some of the officials in the Shimoga and Kadur Districts were in league with robber bands who committed depredations in the rural areas, and shared in their spoils. Some of the descendants of the Palyagars who had been dispossessed by Tippu, and been encouraged by the British during

their campaigning against him, pressed their claims on the Government for restoration, and when unsuccessful, resorted to force. Such were the descendants of the Tharikere Palyagars and a claimant to the extinct kingdom of Nagar by name Budi Basavappa. Things came to a head about 1830. There were peasants rising in the Mysore, Bangalore and Chitaldrug Districts, and Palyagar and robber revolts in the Malnad Districts. Official intercession, military movements in the affected areas, and a mixture of placation and severity in dealing with the masses of the rebels and the ringleaders, were only partly successful. The Maharaja himself as well as the Resident proceeded on a tour of the affected parts, and some of the officials were severely punished. Concessions and appeasement were offered to the populace. Leaders were sometimes shown mercy, and sometimes made examples of. The Resident, Hon'ble Casamaijor, was averse to the use of the British military forces in the State, and when it became necessary to use them, used only a part of them. However on the 5th January 1831 he reported to the Madras Government that the Maharaja who was always averse to spill the blood of his subjects, having been prevailed upon to excercise his legitimate authority, and to make examples of some of the principal leaders, peace and order had been restored and the insurrection had been put an end to, and the ryots had begun to pay their taxes willingly and quietly. But not long after, his despatches became unfavourable and alarming. The Governor of Madras, S. R. Lushington, thought it necessary to visit Mysore in May 1831

and in his interview His Highness urged on him the necessity for using the full strength of the subsidiary force. This was agreed to and the Dewan and Resident were deputed to the north in order to bring the situation under control. They were only partly successful.

In April of the year Governor Lushington had written to the Governor General, Lord William Bentinck, that the payments of the monthly subsidy had been delayed beyond the appointed period, and that consequently the troops and establishments were ready to mutiny for want of subsistence. This was of course untrue, as a scrutiny of the Accountant General's books later showed, but it was just what was wanted by that chronic annexationist, Governor General Bentinck. In June he wrote to the Governor of Madras that "the situation led him to agree to the necessity of taking over the management of the Raja's country into British hands, and to govern it by a Commission of British Officers." In July the Governor sent a minute suggesting the administration of the State by a British appointed Dewan, as in the case of Purniah, under the direction of the Resident. On 6th September the Governor General communicated to the Governor his resolution to vest the Government in the hands of a Senior Commissioner appointed by himself and a Junior Commissioner appointed by the Madras Government, the Commission being subordinate to the Madras Government. This was hardly what the Madras Governor wanted, but that was the decision.

The remarkable document in which he communicated this decision to His Highness the Maharaja is given below. It is based on many wrong assumptions and unproven facts, as we shall point out in due course.

" To

Raja of Mysore.

After compliments.

It is now thirty two years since the British Government having defeated the armies and captured the Forts and overrun the territory of Tippu Sultan, laid siege to Seringapatam, and that city being taken the dynasty and the power of Tippu was brought to an end. Your Highness is well aware of the generosity displayed by the conquerors upon that occasion. Instead of availing themselves of the right of conquest and of annexing the Territory of Mysore to those of the Honourable Company (and of the Nizam) the sovereignty was restored to the family of the ancient Raja of the country, who had taken no part in the conquest, and Your Highness was placed on the Musnud. But Your Highness being then but a child of three years old, Purniah was appointed Dewan of the State with full powers, and with the aid and countenance of the officers of the British Government he conducted all affairs with exemplary wisdom and success. Up to the period when Your Highness approached the years of maturity, through his good management and as the consequence of his measures, the country prospered, and the State of Mysore attained splendour and exaltation, and the population of all ranks were contented and happy. Further at the time of his resigning

the Government to Your Highness, after having conducted its affairs for ten years, he gave proof of the wisdom and integrity of his management by leaving in the Treasuries for Your Highness' use, no less than 70 lakhs of pagodas in cash, which is a sum exceeding two crores of rupees.

"From that time which is now more than twenty years, Your Highness has been vested with all the powers and authorities of the Raja of Mysore, and still excercise the rights of sovereignty in the Territory of the State. But I am sorry to be compelled to say that the former state of things no longer exists, and that the duties and obligations of Your Highness' position appear to have been greatly neglected; for it seems that, besides the current revenue of the State, the treasure above stated to have been accumulated by Purniah has been dissipated on personal expenses and disreputable extravagances. An immense debt has been incurred, and the finance of the State has been involved in inextricable embarrassment, and although Sir Thomas Munro, the late Governor, as well as Hon'ble S. R. Lushington, the present Governor of Madras, frequently remonstrated with Your Highness on the subject, and obtained promises of amendment and of efforts to reduce your expenditure within your income, it does not appear that the least attention has been paid to their remonstrances or advice. The subsidy due to the British Government has not been paid according to the Treaty of 6th July 1799. The troops and soldiers of the State are unpaid, and are compelled for their subsistence to live at free quarters upon the ryots. The debt is re-

presented to be greater than ever, and so far from its being possible to entertain, from past experience, the smallest hope that these evils will be corrected under Your Highness' management, more extensive deterioration and confusion can alone be anticipated.

" My friend ! There are stipulations in the 4th and 5th articles of the Treaty above alluded to, of which it may be useful to quote at length the substance.

" The 4th article provided that whereas it was indispensably necessary that effectual and lasting security should be provided against any failure in the fund destined to defray either the expenses of the permanent Military force in time of peace, or the extraordinary expenses mentioned in Article III in time of war, the Governor General in Council shall be at liberty either to introduce such regulations as he shall deem expedient for the internal management and collection of the Revenues, or for the better ordering of any other branch, or Department of the Government of Mysore or to assume and bring under the direct management of the servants of the said Company Bahadurs, such part or parts of the territorial possessions of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore Krishnaraja Wodayar Bahadur, as shall appears to him the said Governor General in Council, necessary to render the said funds efficient and available in time of peace or war.

" The 5th Article provided that on receipt of an order under Article IV from the Governor General the Maharaja should issue orders to his officers to comply with the requirements of the British Government, provided

that when such part or parts of the Territory continues under the control of the East India Company, "the Governor General in Council shall render to His Highness a true and faithful account of the revenues and produce of the Territories so assumed, provided also that in no case shall His Highness's actual receipt or annual income arising out of his territorial Revenue be less than one lakh of star pagodas, together with one fifth of the net revenue of the whole of the Territories, which sums the East India Company engages in all times and in every possible case to secure and cause to be paid for His Highness's use."

He proceeds, "I have in consequence felt it to be indispensable, as well with reference to the stipulations of the Treaty, as from a regard to the obligations of the protective character which the British Government holds towards the State of Mysore, to interfere for its preservation, and to save the various interests at stake from further ruin. It has occurred to me that in order to do this effectually, it will be necessary to transfer the entire administration of the country into the hands of British Officers; and I have accordingly determined to nominate two Commissioners for the purpose who will proceed immediately to Mysore."

"Your Highness may be assured of the extreme reluctance under which I find myself compelled to have recourse to a measure that must be so painful to Your Highness's feelings, but I act under the conviction that an imperative obligation of a great public duty leaves me no alternative."

All very fine and high-sounding, but in reality it was not true that Purniah had left over two crores of rupees in the Treasury, and that the Maharaja was so grossly extravagant that he had exhausted it. It was not true that the subsidy had fallen into arrears as contemplated in the Treaty. It was not true that the Resident and the British army in the State had done their part to restore tranquillity. The British army, maintained out of the State funds, was not made available as was done by Colonel Wellesley in 1801. And this in spite of the fact that the Mysore army and Mysore's resources had been placed at British disposal when they had to subdue the Mahratas and Pindaries. And it was not true that the Treaty authorised the assumption of the Government of the entire State by the Governor General.

Bentinck's fateful letter was placed in the Maharaja's hands during the Dussarah of 1881. The Maharaja took it calmly and issued necessary orders, and on the 19th October 1831 the administration passed into the hands of British Commissioners.

The Senior Commissioner was Colonel Briggs of the Bengal service and the Junior Commissioner C. M. Lushington, a brother of the Governor of Madras. Lushington came and took charge in October 1831 and Colonel Briggs in December. Casamaijor continued as British Resident to the Maharaja. The Senior and Junior Commissioners never agreed and were always at variance with each other. And the Resident's representations on behalf of the Maharaja never found favour with the Senior Commissioner. Thus the Senior Com-

missioner's actions were directed by his antagonism to both the Junior Commissioner and the Resident! Lushington, before the arrival of Briggs, had passed certain orders and appointed Venkataramiah as Dewan. Colonel Briggs on arrival removed Venkataramiah and appointed old Babu Rao! But the Madras Governor opposed any measure of Briggs's, and ordered that Dewan Babu Rao should be the Chief Executive of the State, and that whenever the views of either of the Commissioners on any matter agreed with those of the Dewan they should be given effect to. Briggs, however, made a tour of the affected parts of the State in the West and North, and succeeded in reducing to submission the Tarikere Palegar and other disaffected persons and their followers. Within about a year and half there were three Junior Commissioners, Lushington, followed by G. D. Drury, who was followed by J. M. Macleod. In the end Briggs' own position became intolerable and he tendered resignation in the following terms; "In the enjoyment of the confidence of the Madras Government and of the Resident, in the full excercise of power with which I am forbidden to interfere, with all the public servants of the State from the Foujdar of a district to the messenger of an office looking up to him for subsistence and promotion, the Dewan keeps up an active system of espionage and maintains an extensive secret correspondence. Instead of my being able to transact public business with composure, my whole time has been taken up in endeavouring to counteract the plots of the Dewan to keep me in the dark!"

Before leaving, Colonel Briggs ruefully recorded, "The cause of all the troubles throughout my Senior Commissionership was an unfortunate want of singleness of purpose in several quarters. Lushington wanted Mysore for his brother, and never forgave me for standing in his way. The Governor General, as I did not understand till lately, was exceedingly anxious from the first and all through the business to screen the Resident Casamaijor, an old protege and favourite of his own, so that while his despatches demonstrated that gentlman's incapacity to the perception of the Court of Directors, he still supported him both publicly and privately, and was glad to get me out of the way, because I frankly avowed my aversion to the Residency party, and my conviction that they were answerable for the misrule of Mysore!"

That last remak both indicts the British policy in Mysore and exonerates Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar!

Briggs was succeeded by Colonel Morrison as Senior Commissioner. It was impressed on him by the Governor General in the strongest manner that it was his anxious desire that all the ancient usages and institutions of the country, especially those of a religious nature should be respected and maintained inviolate. He also wished that no changes were to be made in the system of administration till then pursued except such as were unavoidable or immediately necessary. The inhabitants of Mysore were to be provided with officers on whom they could implicitly rely, and with tribunals to which they could confidently resort for the redress of their grievances. To all offices respectable men had to be

appointed on adequate salaries usually granted to the native officers in the Company's territories."

Shortly after the assumption of the administration by the Commission, the Governor General appointed a committee to enquire into the causes of the previous disturbances. It consisted of four Europeans, and presented a Report after an elaborate enquiry. The Committee found that the agrarian discontent was mainly due to economic causes which operated even in the neighbouring British districts of Bellary and Kadapa. Dealing with the sharat system of revenue collection the Committee held that it was necessary to be cautious in drawing a conclusion with respect to the degree in which the collections actually made by the Amils were oppressively high. The fact of the assembling of the ryots and complaining that the taxes were too burdensome to be borne proved little upon the point. At the very time that the insurrection broke out in Mysore, ryots in the British Canara District also had similarly assembled and complained, whereupon an enquiry was held and it was proved that the taxes were decidedly moderate, lighter indeed than in any other district of Madras. In Canara as in Mysore the ryots' assemblies had been instigated by intriguing officials. The Committee had doubts as to the claims made on behalf of Government being too heavy for the capacity of the people concerned. Enquiring into the story of the 7 million pagodas alleged to have been left by Dewan Purniah the Committee found no evidence of such a thing. The Committee held that as an outlet of agrarian dis-

content the disturbances could have been easily quelled, but for the fillip given to them by the Nagar pretender and Tarikere Palyagars, who engaged military bands from the Hyderabad and British territories, and thereby gave backbone, volume and continuity to the revolt.

The Report caused a great searching of heart on the part of the Governor General, Lord Bentinck. He also visited Mysore in 1834 and had talks with the Maharaja. As a result he sent up recommendations to the Board of Directors in England for the recession of most of the State territory, *i.e.*, retaining only a portion sufficient for recovering the annual subsidy due to the British Government. His reasoning in the course of the recommendations is illuminating: "By the adoption of the arrangement which I advocate, certain doubts will be removed which I cannot help entertaining both as to the legality and the justice, according to a strict interpretation, of the course that has been pursued. The Treaty warrants the assumption of the country with a wiew to secure the payments of the subsidy. The assumption was actually made on account of the Raja's misgovernment. The subsidy does not appear to have been in any immediate jeopardy. Again the Treaty authorises us to assume such part or parts of the country as may be necessary to render the funds which we claim efficient and available. The whole has been assumed although a part would unquestionably have sufficed for the purpose specified in the Treaty: and with regard to the justice of the case, I cannot but think that it would have been more fair to the Raja had a more distinct and positive warning been given

him that the decisive measure since adopted would be put in force if mis-government should be found to prevail." With regard to the Maharaja himself he adds, "It is admitted by every one who has had an opportunity of observing the character of the Raja that he is in the highest degree intelligent and sensible. His disposition is described to be the reverse of tyrannical or cruel, and I can have little doubt, from the manner in which he has conducted himself in his present adverse circumstances, that he would not neglect to bring his good qualities into active operation and to show that he had not failed to benefit by the lessons of experience. But lest this hope should be disappointed, the means ought to be undoubtedly retained in our own hands of guarding against the evil consequences of his mis-government. The personal character of the Raja has, I confess, weighed with me in recommending the measure above allued to. I believe he will make a good ruler in future, and I am certain that, whatever may have been his past errors he has never forgotten his obligations and his duties to the Company's Government."

In the eye of posterity the above remarks should serve as an exoneration of Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar, and a condemnation of the triumvirate, Resident Casamaijor, Governor Lushington, and Governor General Bentinck, for unjust vilification of the Maharaja and high-handed expropriation of the State!

That the Government which the British appointed in their wisdom to administer the State was hardly a good substitute for the previous one will be seen from the

following. The costant differences of opinion between the two Commissioners, and the unpleasantness created thereby to the supreme Government had reached the ears of the Court of Directors in England, and in a despatch dated 6th March 1833 to the Governor General they expressed the opinion that two Commissioners with equal powers appointed by two different Governments, the one a military and the other a Civil servant, could hardly be expected to act harmoniously together, and that an officer appointed by one Government and accountable to another was also not likely to give satisfaction. It was unfortunate, the Court of Directors added, that two officers were appointed where one, if properly selected and allowed the number of assistants necessary to relieve him from the burden of details, would not only have been sufficient but preferable, and especially when all the necessary qualities could be found in one man unity in the directing head had numerous advantages.

Colonel Briggs, the Senior Commissioner came in December 1831 and left in February 1833. By that time as stated already, he had had three Junior Commissioners, C. M. Lushington from 4th October 1831 for four months, C. D. Drury from February 1832 for four months, and J. M. Macleod. Thereafter Colonel Morrison succeeded Briggs as Senior Commissioner on 6th February 1833, and gave place to Colonel Mark Cubbon in June 1834.

The reply of the Board of Directors to the proposal of Governor General Bentinck to retain the portion of the State sufficient to cover the subsidy under the Madras

Government and restore the rest to the Maharaja came about October 1835, and distinctly declared their intention to retain charge of the State only for the specific and temporary purpose of establishing a fair assessment upon the ryots, with security against "further exaction, and a satisfactory system for the administration of Justice." They objected entirely to tarnish the prospective reinstatement of a Prince who "had ever been the attached friend of the British Government," by even the limited project of partition recommended by Lord William Bentinck, objecting to the division of a State the separate integrity of which was guaranteed by the Treaty with the Nizam. They added, "we are desirous of adhering as far as can be done to the native usages, and not to introduce a system which cannot be worked hereafter by native agency when the country shall be restored to the Raja."

The Maharaja also was not eager to receive a third portion of the State in lieu of the whole. His tentative consent had been given to Bentinck's proposal, on Resident Casamaijor's insistence that if he did not consent to them, he would never get back any portion of his country. With reference to the British claim that the administration in Mysore was to remain on its present footing until the arrangements for its good Government shall have been so firmly established as to be secure from future disturbances," His Highness pertinently asked, "Who was to be the judge of when this period had arrived? Were the reports of the officers employed in the Commission to be the guide to the

Government,—the very persons whose employment would be lost by the re-transfer of the country ?"

So the administration continued in the hands of the Commission, and Colonel Mark Cubbon continued as sole Commissioner from June 1834 till March 1861. He was a nephew of Colonel Mark Wilks, and came to Mysore as his protege, and joining the Commissariat Department rose to the position of Commissary General. He had been a member of Bentinck's Committee of investigation into Mysore disturbances in 1833, and had succeeded John Macleod as Junior Commissioner, and General Morrison as sole Commissioner.

Under Cubbon, the country was divided into four Divisions in place of the previous six Foujdaries. The number of Taluqs was reduced by amalgamation with smaller ones. The Taluqs were under Amildars as before, and the Divisions were all under European superintendents; Mahrati or Canarese became the language of official correspondence. The branches of administration were Revenue, Post, Police, Public Works, Military, Medical, Public Cattle, Judicial and Public Instruction.

Babu Rao, whom Briggs had appointed Dewan, died in 1834, and that office was abolished, and a Native Assistant to the Commissioner was appointed.

The total income of the State from land-revenue and monopolies and other sources were 68 lakhs in the first year of Cubbon's regime, and reached 84 lakhs in 1855. The expenditure rose from 65 lakhs in 1834 to 85 lakhs in 1860. Until 1853 the standard coin was the canteroi

pagoda. It was a nominal gold coin, and was substituted in 1853 by the British rupee. The mint set up in 1834 in Bangalore produced only copper coins, and that too was stopped in 1843.

Five new bridges were added during Cubbon's time, at Maddur, Hosakote, Benkipur, Shimoga and Hiriyur. The four passes in the western Ghats, Agumbe, Choonda, Sampige, and Periambadi were cleared and opened. A number of tanks were repaired, and Cubbon held that further repairs should be undertaken only when hands became available to cultivate the additional wet area, and markets were found for the surplus produce, and that a thoroughly improved system of road communication was a preliminary requisite, and accordingly proposed the creation of a post designated Superintendent of Roads. A Department of Public Works was constituted in 1856. From 1831 to 1856 roads were constructed connecting all head-quarter stations with Bangalore, and extending on all sides to the frontiers of the State, the length of the new roads being 1597 miles with 309 bridges. In 1853 the construction of Telegraph lines was commenced, and 334 miles were completed by 1856. The first railway construction in the State was begun by the Madras Railway Company in 1859 between Jalarpet and Bangalore, by Cubbon's initiation.

Medical relief throughout the State was long in the hands of Pandits and Hakims. The Maharaja in 1813 established the first allopathic dispensary in Mysore. In 1834 an Assistant Surgeon was appointed in the office of the Commissioner, and three apothecaries in the offices

of the Superintendents of Mysore, Bangalore and Tumkur Divisions. A Maternity hospital was built by the Maharaja in 1841. In 1846 a large hospital with 70 beds was built in Bangalore. A Leper House was constructed in 1845, and a Lunatic Asylum in 1950.

Individual preceptors both in towns and villages had been imparting education. His Highness the Maharaja inaugurated the first English School in Mysore in 1850. Two years later a similar one was started in Bangalore. In 1852 the first Government grant of a sum of Rs. 7000 was made for opening a school in the moffusal. In 1854 the Judicial Commissioner drew up a scheme for developing education which received sanction in 1857. In 1858 a High School affiliated to the Madras University was started in Bangalore, and in Tumkur, Hassan and Shimoga schools started by the Wesleyan Mission were taken over by the Government. In 1841 Mrs. Sewell, a Missionary, started two Girls' schools at Bangalore, and Reverend Sanderson brought out a Kannada Dictionary. The first printing press was established in 1840, and an English and a Kannada Newspaper came into being.

Cubbon however was not an enthusiast for education. He observed, "On the whole it must be admitted that the administration of Mysore makes no particular show under the head of education. In an abstract point of view this is to be regretted, but subject nations are not kept in order and good humour on abstract principles, and it has long been the opinion of some, and is rapidly becoming the opinion of many that the efforts which have been made by Government to extend the blessings

of education and by tests and examinations to secure the services of enlightened men even in the lowest posts are not calculated to be so fully appreciated by any class of the Community."

The population of the State was 30,50,000 in 1840 and rose to 34,60,000 by 1851, and to 36,29,000 by 1856. The State's revenue during Purniah's Dewanship from 1800 to 1811 was 31,79,000 kanthiroy pagodas at its maximum, and averaged 27,84,000 pagodas. During Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar's direct regime from 1811 to 1831, the maximum was 30,26,000 and the average revenue was 26,53,000 pagodas. From 1832 to 1842 the average annual revenue was Rs. 70,08,000, from 1842 to 1852 it was Rs. 76,61,000, and from 1852 to 1862 it was Rs. 86,54,000, out of which the British took Rs. 24,50,000 as subsidy.

While this was the State of public administration the Maharaja's own position was far from satisfactory. The administration of the State was in the hands of the Commissioner. But as previously the British Resident in the Court of the Maharaja continued. While the Resident proved generally friendly and made representations for the welfare of the Maharaja the Commissioner was prejudiced both against the Maharaja and against the Resident: against the Maharaja because he was a spirited personage, always stood on his rights, would not accept the Comissoner as his superior and would not accept the Commission as a permanent *fait accompli* without any prospect of the administration being handed back to him; against the Resident because he was an official ri-

val unnecessary under the new dispensation, and because he was on the side of the Maharaja. And since the finances were in the hands of the Commissioner, he could constantly vex the Maharaja by delaying annual payments under one pretext or another. Under Bentinck's arrangement the Maharaja was to receive one lakh of star pagodas and one fifth of the net revenue of the State. The interpretation of the term " net revenue " proved a stumbling block with the Commissioner. Meanwhile the Maharaja who was a large-hearted and generous personage, and who sought to maintain the dignity of his Royalty unimpaired, had to incur debts in order to meet his demands. And then when debts accumulated payment of the Maharaja's revenue was further delayed on the plea of ascertaining the exact amount of debts! Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar's position under Sir Mark Cubbon was hardly less intolerable than that of Napoleon in St. Helena under Sir Hudson Lowe.

The Maharaja had to complain and protest to the Governor General about this unbecoming treatment. In 1846 he wrote to Governor General Lord Ellenborough, " As regards myself I deem it due to me to declare that I am perfectly unconscious of ever having in the remotest degree merited anything unfriendly from the Commissioner. But what can be the cause of the Commissioner's past hostilities and continued opposition towards me is an enigma which I am unable to solve. Nor can I consent to weigh things in the scale of vulgar opinion, which could assign a cause for it by supposing that as the first establishment of the Commission was

indebted to a large accumulation of my public and private financial embarrassments, its longest continuation can be calculated upon only in proportion as the mere shadow of these evils is made to appear in a magnified light; because the evils themselves do neither now exist nor is there any possibility of their recurrence, for he who had been deemed the author of them has paid the penalty of his ill-placed confidence on treacherous hirelings for twelve years together, and is not likely on a return to prosperity to unlearn the wholesome lessons of wisdom he has acquired in adversity." Again, " My Lord, I must candidly confess that I have no confidence in him as a friend of my interest or dignity; and I cannot consequently feel assured that in his communications with Your Lordship regarding myself or my State he acts an impartial part. I have therefore determined to appeal to Your Lordship myself. Your Lordship will deem it no exaggeration when I declare that I feel myself entirely at the mercy of the Commissioner, who as he has by offering me every species of annoyance and hostility in his power, proved himself not to be my friend, neither can I safely calculate upon my security while directly placed under his absolute power as the sole Commissioner of Mysore and also Resident at my Durbar. I feel myself unprotected, and I dread to contemptate the consequence of my defenceless situation. The feeling of opposition and hostility which has so strongly marked the Commissioner's conduct towards me for the last eight years, but especially the undisguised character it has recently assumed is become matter of

public observation. I shall therefore, My Lord, only add that, after all what I have said, and respectfully urged upon Your Lordship's consideration, if Your Lordship could possibly consent to leave me even for a moment exposed to the dangers of my present extremely painful situation, I would willingly prefer death to disgrace, and if Your Lordship cannot immediately interpose to rescue me from the latter, implore most earnestly that Your Lordship will inflict upon me yourself anything you like, but do not abandon me to the sport of my inferiors."

The appropriateness of the last phrase is shown by the following extracts from the communications of Commissioner Cubbon to His Highness. In December 1843 he wrote to suggest to His Highness the expediency of "an English translation accompanying in future any letters which Your Highness may have occasion to address to the Govenor General of India as more likely to convey faithfully and accurately the sentiments embodied by Your Highness in the original letter, than any translation of it which can be made in my office." Then in March 1844 he wrote, "The Governor General in Council does not consider it convenient that letters on important business should be addressed to him by Native Princes in any other language than their own, as it is essential that His Lordship should be satisfied that they fully understand the writing to which they give the sanction of their signatures, and the Governor General must therefore request that His Highness will transmit in the Canarese language the substance of the letter recently addressed to him."

Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar

A little later, the Maharaja coming to know that Fouzdar Thimmarajiah, a former favourite who was one of those mainly responsible for the events that caused the appointment of the Commission 1831, and who had since become an open enemy of the Maharaja, was being made a judge of the Adawlat or High Court, wrote to the Commissioner to ask if it was true, and observed, "You are of course aware that this is the first instance in which I have addressed you regarding the distribution of native officers or any other arrangement connected with the public administration of my country since the appointment of the Commission. It may therefore be needless to assure you that I should not have now deviated from the uniform conduct I have hitherto observed, were I not impelled by weighty considerations of what is due to my feelings as sovereign of Mysore, for in the event of the consummation of this appointment in the Government of my own country and before my own eyes, I cannot but regard it as a direct insult offered to my person, and which will doubtless be manifest to yourself on a little consideration, knowing as you do the treacherous misconduct of these men and the fact of my having in consequence ultimately discharged them."

To this dignified protest, the Commissioner sent an almost brutal reply. He wrote, "It is impossible I can regard Your Highness's communication so much in the light of a remonstrance against an act in contemplation as a deliberate impeachment of the Government of this country for having actually conferred an office of high trust and responsibility upon an unworthy person, whose

treacherous and traitorous misconduct, Your Highness declares, I am acquainted with. As Your Highness's letter under either interpretation, and more especially when taken in conjunction with the defamatory imputations recently cast by Your Highness upon the highest authorities in this country, imputations calculated, if they could possibly be believed by the people, to destroy their confidence in the administration of justice appears to me to be a clear departure from the course of conduct expected from Your Highness, I consider it my duty to recall to Your Highness's recollection the views and intentions of the Government of India upon this point as first communicated to the Commissioners in 1831 and again in 1836, and to express my most anxious desire that no occasion may arise to impose upon me the painful obligation of representing to the Right Honourable the Governor General that Your Highness's interference has a tendency to obstruct and weaken the course of administration, and, in the words of the Government, to frustrate the successful efforts which have been made for the amelioration of the country."

What he referred to was a passage in a letter of the Bengal Government to the Government of Madras worded, " Whether after resigning the Government, the Raja shall be required to remove his residence from the country of Mysore is a question that future circumstances and his own conduct can alone determine. To add to the pain that must accompany the deprivation of power by any unnecessary interference with the Raja's personal wishes and comfort, will be carefully avoided. It must

be expected at the same time that the host of disappointed and unprincipled favourites who have hitherto profited by the past misrule, will do their utmost to counteract and embarrass the new order of things. It is hoped that the Raja will not allow himself to be a party to any such intrigues. It will be the care of the Resident to put the Raja on his guard against the machinations of these his worst enemies and to persuade him that the best atonement of his past misgovernment, and his best hopes of recovering the lost confidence of his subjects and of the British Government, will be found in a patient submission to the lot, by the rejection of his bad advisers, and by a reform of his extravagant and dissipated habits."

We consider the above as a statesmanlike paragraph. We see in it no reference to the possibility of mischievous interference in the Commissioner's administration by the Maharaja, nor to his expulsion from the State in consequence thereof. But Commissioner Cubbon is so wolfish that he reads those meanings into it.

On receipt of the Commissioner's coldly violent reply the Maharaja placed the matter before the Governor General. He pointed out that Thimmapparajiah, late Fouzdar of Bangalore, his brother Venkatrajiah, late Dewan, and Dasarajiah, Bakshi, were mainly responsible for the ruin of the country and himself before 1831, and that at the instance of the British Government he had dismissed them and that they had since turned his enemies, that the appointment of Thimmapparajiah as an appellate judge by the Commissioner was indefensible in

itself and an insult to him. He added, "I had it in contemplation, My Lord, in the absence of a Resident and friend, to lay before Your Lordship myself in a formal manner a respectful solicitation for restoration to me of the Government of my country. At this critical juncture the efforts made by the Commissioner to oppose my views have been already submitted to Your Lordship, and now, My Lord, after 12 years, he insults me with a threat of expulsion from my own country, by quoting a para of a letter dated 6th September 1831 for the first time for my information. What have I done, My Lord, to merit these insults from the Commissioner? My Lord, in the ordinary obligations of life, according to ancient saying, it becomes part of the maternal duty to cherish her offspring with the sustenance of her own breast, and while I look upon the British Government as my parent for every support, what could have induced the Commissioner to lead me to apprehend that the breast which hitherto nourished me with milk might eventually feed me with poison, I respectfully leave it to Your Lordship's superior judgement to determine. Is it because I venture to say that the rumoured appointment of Thimmapparajiah, one of my "worst enemies," one of those unprincipled favourites who profited by the past misrule, and one of those treacherous and traitorous men who consummated the ruin of my affairs, if true, could prove a great outrage to my feelings that the Commissioner has thought proper to treat me in this manner? Your Lordship is aware that whatever I may communicate to Your Lordship the Commissioner has the opportunity of

knowing, whereas I, My Lord, know not what he writes to Your Lordship regarding me. I have no friend to represent any case of mine. I have no support, My Lord, save that of yourself, and in Your Lordship's just and generous hands I have unreservedly committed my present welfare and future happiness in the full certainty that the exalted nobleman at the head of the British Government in India has not only the power to avenge the grievous indignities unmeritedly inflicted upon me in this my humbled situation, but also the heart to administer to my lacerated feelings the unction of his friendly sympathy."

But it must be noted that though the Commissioner could inflict upon him such mental torment there was no question of the Maharaja being cowed down. He met the attacks with great spirit. The following is an instance. Referring to certain arrogant remarks of the Commissioner about a certain judicial matter, the Maharaja wrote, " With regard to what you say in your para 5th ' that under British administration it is not permitted to condemn any person unheard, nor for a Judge to proceed to punish upon the ex-parte and private information of the accuser,' I beg to observe that it was not generous on your part to believe me desirous of such a course. The long quotation from my letter in your para 20 is a direct contradiction to what you say yourself of condemning any person " unheard." This may be further proved from the natural import of these words, " after having asked me any question necessary to satisfy yourself. Now you could have had no questions to ask me

but what might have suggested themselves by a previous hearing of the prisoner; unless you mean to say that there may be cases where the dignity, the respectability, the exalted station of the accuser, the insigficance and bad repute of the accused, the circumstances upon which the latter depended for success, the critical position of his judges with his accuser by which he was encouraged, in a word the weight of external circumstances and the amount of extrinsic incoherencies alone may be at once so palpably glaring and so irresistibly convincing against the accused that an impartial Judge may feel sufficiently satisfied to proceed to punish him by waiving a formal investigation, which at best may serve no legitimate end with regard to the accused, while it may prove a prolific source of serious annoyance and humiliation to the accuser, tending thereby to neutralize the essential points of demarkation without which society would be a chaos, in which all that is most noble and exalted in Nature and all that is most vile and despicable are to be amalgamated in one indiscriminate mass. But I believe what you say of "British administration" is meant more as a general reflection upon Native administration, which coupled with what you have said in your memo to me dated 20th May 1843 para 25, that it is both customary and justifiable for Native Princes to withold payment until "their creditors agree to what the debtor may consider an equitable adjustment," is such a gratuitous insult offered to Native honour and judgment, that while I admit it to be beyond my province to call upon you for an explanation of your right for making such a reflection,

I may be permitted to state what is my own conviction upon the question of administration which is this: that there may be good as well as obnoxious laws, and this either in an European or Native State, and that however excellent the British mode of justice is in itself, still its proving a blessing depends not so much upon its own excellence, as upon the integrity of intention, the purity of purpose and the rectitude of principle with which its provisions are reduced to practicability."

Nor was he less spirited when fighting his case with the Governor General and demanding justice. Addressing Sir Henry Hardinge, Governor General in June 1845, he wrote, "With reference to my Kareetha of the 7th September 1844, to which I have not as yet had the honour of a reply, I am compelled again to appeal to Your Excellency and to the well known justice of the British Government in reference to my position and my just rights which the confidence that I feel in British Justice persuades me will not be longer refused to me, on a clear and distinct appeal to the Government. It is not unknown to me that my character has been misrepresented and that not only in confidential political communications, but publicly in evidence before the House of Commons in England. I am also aware that it may be the interest and object of others still to keep up this belief in the minds of those who (not knowing me personally themselves) alone have the power to do me justice. But I can with the utmost confidence challenge those who vilify me, whether through ignorance or enmity, to the proof, and call on those who best

know me and have had the best means of knowing me, the Residents and other European gentlemen who have been at my Court for the last 16 years, to say whether such terms as my being "utterly demoralized," "fit for nothing," "can never show proof of competence to govern," etc., are not a base and foul slander; these may seem strong terms, but not too strong when the calumny has reference to my character and dearest interests in life, though I do not impute evil motives to the asserter. It may have been said in ignorance or through misinformation. I can call on those who now last know me to say whether at this moment I am not as to mental and physical vigour as capable of governing my country as any man of 50 years of age in India. I am not aware that it has been attempted to show that any other reason exists sufficient to render null the Hon'ble Company's treaty with me, or to justify the withholding from me now the Government of my country. That I have been extravagant as to pecuniary matters in my younger days, and have unfortunately in some instances had as confidential advisers, persons who afterwards proved themselves unworthy of such confidence I freely avow, but I will not mock common sense or justice to suppose that any person could assert or believe that, because either Prince or private individual had been at one time of his life wasteful in his pecuniary arrangements, or had managed his affairs in some respects but indifferently, he should therefore be disinherited for ever. Even now, I confess, I have no wish to hoard my income or bury it in the earth, but to spend it in

my country and amongst my people from whose industry I derive it."

We think that last sentiment is as daring as it is magnificent. The Maharaja further observes, "I believe I could make it plain that the assumption of the Government of my country by Lord William Bentinck was a measure both unnecessary and uncalled for by the exigencies of the time, not to speak of its being unjustified by the Treaty existing between the Hon'ble Company and myself. Disturbances there were in some Districts of the country; but do not disturbances occur in portions of the Company's country without any blame being imputed to the Governing authority? I had contracted debts, it is true; but what were they in proportion to the revenue of my country, and have not the best and most upright Governments in the world debts? But I am willing to let the past rest in oblivion and to draw Your Excellency's attention to the present and ask you and the British Government, with all due deference and respect, what just ground there is now for withholding from me my true, I may say, my unalienable rights? I appeal to the Treaty existing between the Government and myself, that treaty which I have never violated in the slightest particular or degree and which I am sure Your Excellency will consider the Government bound in honour to abide by."

Thus challengingly did this untravelled, home-bred King answer his critics who sought to make of him a helpless victim. When King Porus was brought before Alexander and the latter asked him what he wanted, he

replied, "To be treated like a King." When a French King was taken before an English King a prisoner in the 12th century, and was asked what surprised him most in England, he is said to have replied, "To see myself here." So Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar retained his kingly spirit and princely dignity fully aglow throughout his long compulsory retirement.

Just as during the Moslem usurpation Maharani Lakshammanni went on urging the British to put down the usurper time after time in spite of several failures, so Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar with persistent iteration urged each new Governor General to give him back his Kingdom. Within two years of the appointment of the Commission, Lord William Bentinck wrote, "My Esteemed Friend, I have made a communication on the subject to the authorities in England and should they sanction the arrangement it will be immediately be carried into effect. I do not hesitate to assure you that it will afford me great gratification to comply with your wishes so far as I can do so consistently with my duty to my own Government. I beg you will believe me, that I shall ever remain your sincere Friend, William Bentinck."

That was in 1834. In 1835 Lord Metcalf wrote, "My friend, I sincerely hope that your mind will not be kept much longer in a state of suspense, and that the decision of the Home authorities may be conformable with your inclination." In 1836 Lord Auckland communicated this decision: "My Friend—It is the opinion of those eminent authorities, who

are at all times anxiously disposed to promote whatever may be most conducive to the true interests of Your Highness, that those interests will be best consulted by maintaining the undivided and beneficial administration which at present subsists of Your Highness's territories, until such salutary rules and safe-guards may be matured and confirmed in practice, as shall afford just ground of confidence that your subjects, in all parts of your dominions, will possess the benefit of a stable form of good Government. The Honourable the Court of Directors have, on these grounds, signified their commands that the administration of Your Highness's territories shall remain on its present footing, until the arrangements for their good Government shall have been so firmly established as to be secure from future disturbance. I beg to express the high consideration I entertain for Your Highness, and to subscribe myself Your Highness's Sincere Friend, Auckland."

The Governor General is long-winded in his communication. The Board of Directors were pretty crisp. They said, " We would not willingly, after having assumed the powers of Government, place the inhabitants of any portion of the territory however small, under the absolute domain of such a Ruler. We are desirous of adhering as far as can be done, to the native usages, and not to introduce a system which cannot be worked hereafter by native agency when the country shall be restored to the Raja."

On the Maharaja pressing his claim in 1845, Governor General Sir Henry Hardinge represented to the Board

of Directors that he doubted whether the British Government ought to keep possession of the Maharaja's dominions after their pecuniary claims were satisfied, and when there was no longer any cause for anxiety as to the regular payment of the subsidy. Nearly two years later however, the Board were pleased to reply, 'The real hindrance is the hazard which would be incurred to the prosperity and good Government which the country now enjoys, by replacing it under a Ruler known by experience to be thoroughly incompetent."

It was just a case of "What I have I hold." In 1836 they spoke of keeping on the Government in their hands as temporary trustees. In 1847 the tune changed to one of permanent possession. And soon after, they appointed a man as Governor General whose policy of rapacious annexation resulted in a wide-spread revolt, in consequence of which the East India Company itself was divested of its power, thus proving that one's evil intentions do recoil on oneself, and that nemesis has a long arm.

In 1856 Lord Dalhousie in the course of a minute observed, "I trust therefore that when the decease of the present Raja shall come to pass without son or grandson, or legitimate male heir of any description, the territory of Mysore which will then have lapsed to the Government will be resumed, and that the good work which has been so well begun will be completed."

Then followed the Great Indian Mutiny. And Maharaja Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar who, dispossessed of his country for 25 years, had ample reason

to throw himself heart and soul into the Mutiny, nevertheless made his choice to remain faithful to the British regime. His part in countering the fomenters of disaffection and rendering support to refugee Britishers has been recorded by Commissioner Cubbon in a report to the Governor General. He declared, "To no one was the Government more indebted for the preservation of tranquillity than to His Highness the Raja, who displayed the most steadfast loyalty throughout the crisis, discountenancing everything in the shape of disaffection, and took every opportunity to proclaim his perfect confidence in the stability of the English rule. When a small party of Europeans came to Mysore he made manifest his satisfaction by giving them a feast. He offered one of his palaces for their accommodation, and as a stronghold for the security of their treasure; and even gave up his own personal establishment of elephants, etc., to assist the 74th Highlanders in their forced march from the Nilgiris to Bellary for the protection of the Ceded Districts, a proceeding which, although of no great magnitude in itself, produced great moral effect throughout the country. In fact there was nothing in his power which he did not do to manifest his fidelity to the British Government, and to discourage the unfriendly."

In due course an acknowledgment came from the Viceroy Lord Canning: "I was well aware that from the very beginning of those troubles the fidelity and attachment to the British Government which have long marked Your Highness's acts had been conspicuous upon every opportunity. Your Highness's wise confidence in

the power of England and your open manifestation of it, the consideration and kindness which you showed to British subjects, and the ready and useful assistance which you rendered to the Queen's troops have been mentioned by the Commissioner in terms of the highest praise. I beg Your Highness to accept the expression of my warm thanks for these fresh proofs of the spirit by which Your Highness is animated in your relations with the Government of India."

The Queen's proclamation in 1856 assured the Indian Princes that their rights, dignities and honour according to former usages would be upheld, and that no further encroachments on the dominions of the Indian Princes would be allowed. And Lord Canning's despatch of 1860 guaranteed to every Indian Chief above the rank of a Jahagirdar the right of adopting a successor according to the Hindu Law. But Canning did not communicate that right of adoption to Mysore, and with regard to the Queen's Proclamation he conveyed to the Secretary of State the view that Mysore could not conveniently be restored to its Princedom, and that its entire cession to the British by the Maharaja in a spirit of loyalty was a consummation to be wished for.

The Maharaja however addressed the Governor General about his restoration. After 10 months' silence, the day before he was laying down his office Canning replied that he was unable to support the Maharaja's request, or to admit the grounds on which the claim was founded, which he said he regarded as mistaken and untenable. And simultaneously with the reply his

Private Secretary, and perhaps the draftsman of the reply, L. B. Bowring, was appointed Commissioner in place of Sir Mark Cubbon.

In 1861 with the concurrence of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, the Maharaja sent some gem-set necklaces and other jewellery along with some Mysore-bred horses, cows and bulls, under the care of the Durbar Surgeon, Dr. Campbell, to be presented to the British Queen. Commanded by her to acknowledge the same, the Secretary of State wrote, "The assurances of Your Highness's friendship are very welcome to Her Majesty, who can receive no such precious gifts from the Princes and Chiefs of India as the good words which they send to Her from their distant homes. From Your Highness these good words are especially gratifying. For more than 60 years you have been the faithful ally of the British Government who felt assured, when trouble recently overtook them, that as Your Highness was the oldest so would you be the staunchest of their friends, if evil and misguided men should seek to sow sedition in Your Highness's country. By the blessing of God the Southern Peninsula of India remained undisturbed, but Your Highness nevertheless was enabled to contribute to the success of British arms by the assistance which you rendered to the passage of Her Majesty's troops towards disturbed Districts, whilst by your personal bearing in this critical juncture, you encouraged and sustained the loyalty of your subjects and helped to preserve the tranquillity of the country. I am commanded by Her Majesty to send to Your High-

ness, under charge of Dr. Campbell, a few specimens of the manufactures of Great Britain and other articles of which Her Majesty requests your acceptance as token of Her friendship and esteem."

Lord Elgin succeeded Canning, and the Maharaja tendered an application to the Secretary of State on Canning's order. The Secretary of State in Council replied that while the assumption of the Maharaja's Government by the British was not according to Treaty, there was no clause in the Treaty for its restoration when once it was assumed, that the proposals of Lord William Bentinck and the several orders of the Board of Directors meant only that no changes should be effected which would hamper their future discretion, and that there was no obligation on the part of the British Government to restore the Maharaja. In view of the Maharaja's services during the mutiny, this negative order should be conveyed to him as nicely as possible.

This decision of the Secretary of State's Council was not unanimous. Sir Henry Montgomery, Sir Frederick Currie and Sir John Willoughby wrote dissenting minutes, and held that such a decision would be barefacedly unjust. However the majority's voice prevailed. And it was communicated to the Maharaja in the following personal interview :—

"On the 3rd February 1864 precisely at 1 P.M. the Commissioner and his Secretary visited the Maharaja, and after mutual enquiries, the Commissioner was silent for a minute or two when it was easy to read in his

countenance all that could aggravate the pangs of the blows already sustained once by the heart of His Highness. Conversation was commenced by the Commissioner as follows: "A Khareetha has been received from the Viceroy to Your Highness's address containing the final decision passed against Your Highness's appeal to the Secretary of State for India." So saying Mr. Bowring handed the Khareetha to His Highness. The Maharaja received it and placing it in his right hand, remained a while silent, grief and horror struck. In the meantime Mr. Bowring urged His Highness to unfold the Khareetha. Finding His Highness somewhat slow in untying the strings of the bag which had contained it, Mr. Bowring took it from His Highness's hand, cut the strings with his own sword, and rehanded it to His Highness. The Maharaja having opened the Khareetha, desired Mr. Bowring to explain it to him. The purport was made known in a few words. This was enough to disturb the tender emotions of His Highness. Grief and disappointment preyed upon his heart and made him almost distracted. His Highness was a while absorbed on the one hand in endeavouring to compose himself and on the other contemplating what future measures he should adopt. In the meantime Mr. Bowring hurried the Maharaja for his reply to the decision.

H.H. "I bow to the decision: but I cannot help declaring that in fact justice is denied to me totally by the Home authorities. It is wonderful that the same British Government who to secure lasting fame and good faith did justice to my hereditary rights by placing me while

a helpless boy of 5 years of age on my ancestral Throne, have now scrupled not to commit breach of faith and subject themselves to infamy by forcing such an unjust decision upon me. If they are to cut down the very tree they themselves nurtured, what can I do? So long as justice sides my cause there is little fear of losing my rights. If one authority refuse me my claims I shall never cease to importune another higher authority for a better treatment. Once more I assure you that it is my desire that this State which from time immemorial has been possessed by my house should be ever continued native and uninterruptedly enjoyed by my posterity."

To the Commissioner, however, the rejection of His Highness's claims was a *fait accompli*. To the Maharaja on the other hand the goal was still there like a load-star. Only he had to approach it by a round about way. He had two marvellously wise and firm supporters who were wedded to his cause, Dr. Campbell and Bakshi Narasappa. Dr. Campbell went to England to rouse the British press, stir British public opinion, and take the matter before Parliament. Bakshi Narasappa stood by the Maharaja giving him comfort and fanning his courage, and as a bulwork against the insidious influences set to work by Commissioner Bowring in order to coerce the Maharaja to renounce his rights and retire with a pension.

Bowring set two of his assistants, Major Elliot and Major Martin, to work through Bakshi Narasappa and make the Maharaja renounce his rights. But Narasappa was beyond the reach of either their coaxing or their

intimidation, so that they almost got wild with him. Once after an interview Major Elliot addressed him as follows: "Both yourself and His Highness are seated on a box of gunpowder and you cannot avoid its taking fire. But you should bear it in mind that sooner or later, it is sure you both will be blown up to the wind! Besides this I quite apprehend that you are giving His Highness every day bad counsels not to accept the present proposition of the Commissioner and to be more firm and steady against the Government who are this moment too powerful and very strong, and that your counsels make deep impression upon His Highness, spoil the business and ruin His Highness and family altogether. Take care you both will ever be in hazard of incurring the displeasure of the Commissioner. His Highness might be put into a cage like a parrot and shown to the world; as to your fate I need hardly say that it will be one similar to the late Venkappaji's, the vakeel of His Highness."

But Bakshi Narasappa did not quail before these threats, and aided the Maharaja by wise counsel and staunch service, just as 70 years earlier another great Mysorean and loyal subject of the Dynasty, Pradhan Tirumalaiyengar stood by Maharani Lakshammanni and brought about the restoration of the Dynasty, The public of Mysore were roused, and petitions signed by thousands of citizens all over the State were despatched to the Viceroy protesting against annexation and upholding the right of the Maharaja to adopt an heir and successor.

Meanwhile Dr. Campbell was in England enlisting the support of influential personages like Lord Harris, Duke of Wellington II, and Lord Stanley, for the Maharaja's cause, and obtaining publicity for the Mysore case in the British Press.

And on 18th June 1865 the Maharaja, by the advice of his staunch adherents, Bakshi Narasappa, Kolar Krishniengar and S. Venkatavaradiengar, flung the gauntlet before the British authorities in India and adopted a son. His wire to the Viceroy ran, " I have this day adopted a son as successor to all the rights and privileges guaranteed to me by the Treaties of 1799, and have communicated the same by telegram to the Secretary of State." In a letter he wrote, "The boy I have selected is a child of two and a half years of age, of the purest Raja-Bindy or Royal blood. He is the 3rd son of the late Chikka Krishne Urs and grandson of Gopalaraja Urs, the Brother of Lakshmammani Rani (the Rani who signed the treaty between my Family and the East India Company in 1799), who is the daughter of Katti Gopalaraj Urs of Bettada Kotey House, one of the 13 families with which mine is most nearly related. It only remains for me to solicit the protection of the Government of India and England to the heir whom I have adopted, and to request that Your Excellency will do me the favour to issue instructions to the Commissioner for Government of my Territories for the careful observance of all the honours and privileges due to the boy as my heir."

Quick came the reply from the Commissioner : " In reply to Your Highness's telegram I have the honour to

point out that an adoption by Your Highness will not be recognised unless it has received the assent, and is in accordance with the orders of the Government of India."

But the campaign was progressing in England. Five members of the Secretary of State's Council, Sir John Willoughby, Sir Frederick Currie, Sir Henry Montgomery, Sir George Clerk and Dr. Eastwick, had written strongly against annexation. Sir John Low member of the Supreme Council, Generals Fraser, Briggs and Jacob, Secretary Bayley of the Madras Government, and Colonel Haines, Ex-Commissioner of Mysore, and other experienced Indian Civilians headed by John Stuart Mill sent a petition to the House of Commons urging it to preserve the Native State of Mysore. Sir Charles Wood had given place to Lord Cranbourne as Secretary of State. On the 23rd July 1866 a Deputation consisting of members of Parliament and public men interested in Indian affairs waited on the Secretary of State, and Sir Henry Rawlinson explained the merits of the case against annexation, and Sir Edward Colebrook, M. P. explained the case for adoption. Lord William Hay, M. P. referred to the injury that would be done to the honour and moral influence of Great Britain if the Queen's Proclamation and the promises of Lord Canning's despatch were to be violated, and read a letter from Sir Mark Cubbon deprecating any step that might tend to the extinction of the Mysore State in contempt of the Royal Proclamation. Colonel Tykes pointed out that the doctrine of lapse or refusal to recognise an adopted heir was without foundation in Law or history. General Briggs, the first Senior

Commissioner of Mysore, stated that the reports of misgovernment by the Maharaja were exaggerated, and urged that it was the greatest mistake to suppose that a Native State could not be well governed. Major Evans Bell pointed out that the Calcutta Government was responsible for misgovernment in Native States.

Lord Cranbourne desired the Deputationists to tell him what exactly they wished him to do. Sir Henry Rawlinson intimated that they wished the Native State to be maintained, with such safeguards for good Government as may be necessary, and Lord Cranbourne promised due consideration to their representation.

The Press was even harsher in its denunciation of the proposed step. One paper wrote "For very shame let us hear no more of Mysore annexation." Another wrote "A fertile and pleasant Province like Mysore, providing a cool summer retreat for Government, and snug berths for sons and nephews, may seem a rich prize for Indian Officials: but it is marvellous that any English Statesman, taking from a distance a comprehensive survey of the vast Empire of India and mindful of the giant career that, for good or evil, lies before it, should have failed to see that twenty such Provinces as Mysore would be dearly purchased if their possession crippled the influence which it is our high mission to exercise upon the future of India, by shaking the confidence of our native subjects and allies in our moderation and even our good faith."

And John Morley, who forty years later became the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "And there can be

no doubt that viewed from the point of higher international morality, measured by the purer standard of the political duty of the superior to the inferior race, which prevails in the present decade of the century,—the policy of the Indian Government, prompted by men of the old school like Sir Thomas Munro and Sir Mark Cubbon, was in the last degree selfish, grasping, and hollow—we shall be accused of acting hypocritically from first to last. Lord Wellesley established a Kingdom which he never meant to be maintained. He made a treaty with the Nizam to last while sun and moon should endure, but he only meant while it should suit English policy. We assumed the administration of Mysore under the pretext of securing a subsidy, but all the time we never intended to give it back again. We declared that we recognised the right of adoption, and on the first opportunity we decline to do any such thing. We declared that we had given up the evil policy of annexation and then we annex the first territory on which we can lay our hands. It is not difficult to see how ugly our conduct can thus, without much forcing be made to look. And all India is said, on creditable authority, to be watching the case. We have abandoned our legitimate influence in the West in order to annex in the East. We preach moral suasion in Europe, so that we may be free to practise material repression in Asia. We make ourselves despised in one Continent, in order to make ourselves hated in another. It would be paying many of our Cabinet Ministers of either party much too high a compliment to say that this is their deliberate policy. They

have replaced our old, and in many points our bad system of "Thorough," by the new and in all points the worse principle of "Drift." The story of Mysore illustrates only too perfectly the perils in which the Drift system may involve us in matters not immediately under the public eye. The only consolatory reflection is that in this instance Public opinion may even now come into operation, and reverse a policy which is opposed alike to all principles of justice, and to the expediency of the hour."

Early in 1867 the question was taken up in Parliament, and there was a full-dress debate. The upshot of it was communicated to His Highness by a cable from the redoubtable Dr. Campbell, dated 24th February 1867: "I heartily congratulate Your Highness. House of Commons decided last night Mysore Kingdom safe. Prince succeeds Your Highness. Campbell."

We think Dr. Campbell and Bakshi Narasappa deserve statues for their struggle for the integrity of the Kingdom of Mysore, and the honour and good name of Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar, rather than the potential land-snatchers, Cubbon and Bowring.

On 16th April 1867 Secretary of State Northcote wrote to the Governor General, "Having regard to the antiquity of the Maharaja's family, its long connection with Mysore, and the personal loyalty and attachment to the British Government which His Highness has so conspicuously manifested, Her Majesty desires to maintain that family on the Throne in the person of His

Highness's adopted son upon terms corresponding with those made in 1799, so far as the altered circumstances of the present time will allow. The adopted son was to be educated under the superintendence of the India Government.

And as though to clear the name of the old Maharaja of any stigma that might have attached to it by the British Government's previous course of action, Her Majesty Queen Victoria in May 1867 conferred on him the title of Knight Grand Commander of the Star of India with these words, " We are desirous of conferring upon you such mark of our Royal favour as will evince the esteem in which we hold your person and the service you have rendered to our Indian Empire. We have thought fit to nominate and appoint you to be a Knight Grand Commander of the most Exalted Order of the Star of India, etc."

Thus at last this doughty fighter vindicated the honour of his name and achieved the continuity of his Dynasty on the throne of his ancestors. But he enjoyed the happiness of these achievements only for a few brief months. In March 1868 he fell ill, and on the 27th night passed away.

Reporting the demise of the gallant old Ruler to the Viceroy the Commissioner wrote, " The death of this aged Prince who was open-handed and generous in disposition, and who had many amiable personal qualities, will, I am sure, elicit the symathy of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council."

Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar ascended the throne of Mysore on the 30th June 1799. After minority he ruled the State from 1810 to 1831. From 1831 to 1868 he continued *de jure* King of Mysore, making altogether 61 and a half years of rulership. It was the longest span of Rulership of any Ruler of the Dynasty, and one of the longest reigns in the history of the world. British propaganda chose to throw a sombre light on his actual Rulership of twenty years, and held him up as a dissolute spendthrift and incapable Ruler. We might point out that they themselves had a Ruler at home in England, George IV, who was Prince Regent from 1800 to 1820 and Ruler of England from 1820 to 1830. We would ask them to compare Krishnaraja Wodayar III with George IV, and say whether either in dissoluteness or lavish spending the former was miles near the latter. George IV has been remembered for over a hundred years as an unutterable cad and scamp, unrelieved by any good qualities. But Krishnaraja Wodayar, while perhaps given to sensual indulgence in private life was a fine gentleman and virtuous and generous Ruler. At the time when the British imperialists were picturing him as a dissolute spendthrift, he was actually restoring the temples destroyed by Tippu Sultan, rebuilding and extending towns, patronising learning and the fine arts, producing literature, and living the life of a well-meaning and generous Prince. As a Maharaja he was far above the generality of the Indian Princes who have been enjoying the protection of the British in recent times. But it served the purpose of the British Empire-builders

in India at the time to certify him as worthless and make the world believe that they were justified in snatching the administration of the country from his hands.

That apart, in the long list of Yadava sovereigns in Mysore, Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar strikes us as one of the most outstanding, and one of the most praiseworthy. Yaduraya, Raja Wodayar, Kantheeravanarasaraja Wodayar, Chikkadevaraja, cannot stand on a higher pinnacle in the mind of posterity, than this illustrious descendant of theirs. Raja Wodayar got for his Dynasty the throne which had been the seat of authority of the Vijayanagar Viceroys. Krishnaraja Wodayar, by grace of God, re-ascended the throne which had been kept vacant by Moslem usurpers. Chikkadevaraja Wodayar was a Ruler of singular enlightenment who had received honour at the hands of the Moghul Emperor. Krishnaraja Wodayar had deserved and won honours from Queen Victoria, who was in all ways a greater sovereign than Emperor Aurangazeb. Chikkadevaraja Wodayar made a fetish of accumulating wealth, and got to be known as "Navakoti Narayana". Krishnaraja Wodayar deemed wealth a servant to be employed in good causes, and spent it handsomely, generously, in religious charity and on civic improvement. He told his critics boldly, "Even now, I confess, I have no wish to hoard my income or bury it in the earth, but to spend it in my country, and amongst my people, from whose industry I derive it". If any one can say that there is a better way of spending money for a King than this he would be

deemed insane.—Did George IV spend money in the same way ?—His predecessors had to cope with and subdue riotous Palyagars, or face invading Mahratta or Moslem chieftains out to collect loot or tribute. But Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar had to cope with the world's most forward Empire-builders, and that he did so, relying on God and on the justice of his cause, and defied, braved and vanquished the concerted and persistant efforts of a succession of Great Britain's veteran diplomatists shows his abounding moral courage and magnificent calibre. Thereby he made himself the most illustrious of Mysore Kings, and one of the outstanding Indian Rulers of the 19th century. The remark of the Maharaja of Travancore on the death of Krishnaraja Wodayar that India had lost a historic personage, was a recognition of his rank among contemporary Indian Princes.

There were other sides to his life that were no less praiseworthy. The rebuilding of the temples which Tippu Sultan had destroyed was considered by him not only a pious obligation but also a duty to his subjects. Tippu Sultan had destroyed the temples of Shweta-Varahaswamy at Seringapatam and Thrineswaraswamy at Mysore. Krishnaraja Wodayar built temples for those Deities inside the fort of Mysore and made large offerings for their daily worship. The temple of Chamundeswari on the hills near Mysore was extended, and the spire which Raja Wodayar had conceived was taken up and completed. He got the numerous crevasses and pitfalls on the hill-top filled up and levelled, and made it

accessible, safe and presentable. Similarly he improved the Lakshmiramanaswamy Temple near the palace and built a spire. Adjacent to it he established the image of Venkataramanaswamy in the temple whose image had got damaged. He manifested his devotion to Sri Krishna by founding the popular Krishnaswamy Temple to the south of the Palace. The temple of Srikantheswara at Nanjangud was improved and provided with a spire and with increased grants for worship. In memory of his father and mother he greatly extended the town of Arikuthara, his father's birth-place, and named it Chamarajanagar, and built a temple for Chamarajeswara and consort, as well as one for Narayanaswamy, and that being the through route to the south, he established choultries and rest houses for travellers. Again in the near by town of Amchavadi, he renovated the temple of Veerabhadraswamy and provided for its worship. In Seringapatam Tippu Sultan had destroyed the temple of Narasimhaswamy, which had been erected by Ranadheera Kantheeravanarasaraja Wodayar. Krishnaraja Wodayar rebuilt the temple on its former lavish scale, and restored the Deity. Recognising the sanctity of Melkote, he renovated the temples of Narayanaswamy and Yoga Narasimhaswamy, presented valuable offerings, and established a special annual function in his name on his birthday, called the Krishnaraja-mudi Festival. He provided a grant for the daily ration of rice to be given to the Brahmin residents of Melkote. He also devoted due care to the restoration or improvement of other temples of public worship in other parts of the State, and made

pious offerings to the sacred Deities at Tirupathy. These things alone, aiming at the moral and material welfare of his people, in this remarkable Ruler's career, fill a chapter. He fulfilled thereby one of the primary duties of the ideal Hindu Ruler.

Besides, he constructed numerous houses in Mysore in the form of Agraharas, named after the several members of the Royal family, and presented them to the deserving orthodox and learned, as also slices of land free of taxes or at concession rates. He established chowltries, planted roadside trees, and built tanks for the convenience of travellers on the main routes of the State. He built a Dharmasala near the Madhuvan Gardens as a resting place for gosayee pilgrims, and arranged for the issue of rations and cloth to such religious mendicants. He paid due honours to the Sringeri Mutt, Parakala Mutt, Ahobila, Totadri, Vyasaraya and other Mutts. Further, according to the ancient usage of Kings he from time to time performed various *Danas*, or gifts in coins, silver, gold, pearls and in kind, such as Tulapurusha-dana, Hiranyagarbha-dana, Godana, Gajaswarathadana and others, performed the Koti-Panchakshari Japa himself and got them also performed by his Queens.

He financed the performance of Vedic sacrifices such as Vajapeya, Ukthya, Garudachayana and others by such of his subjects as were competent to perform them.

He heralded the modern practice by establishing a free hospital for the public of the Capital. He opened a Zoo where varieties of wild animals were brought and

kept, providing amusement and education to the young and old of the City. He constructed bridges, near Shivasamudram on the Cauvery, and on the Lokapavani and Arkavati rivers, and sumptuous bathing ghats at Paschimavahini and Nanjangud, as also the beautiful Karanji tank at Mysore, and big tanks at Bangalore and Chikballapur. He erected two interesting architectural edifices, in Mysore, the Lokaranjan Mahal and Jagan Mohan Mahal.

In the field of letters his patronage and personal achievements have been outstanding. *Sreethathvanidhi*, *Ganitasangraha*, *Swarachudamani*, *Sowgandhikaparinaya*, *Sankhyaaratnakosa*, *Krishnakathasangraha*, *Arya Ramayana*, *Sreechakrasangraha*, *Suryachandravanshavali*, *Chamundambalaghunighantu*, *Mahakoshasudhakara*, *Chaturangasarasarwaspa*, *Devatanamakusumamanjari*, *Sankhyaa-malay*, *Dashavibhaga padaka*, *Grahanadarpana*, and other works of scientific, devotional and literary interest were the outcome of his reign, and many of them were brought out in a stone printing press established in the Palace itself. His court was adorned by various scholars proficient in many fields of learning. The courts of Tanjore and of the Peshwas having ceased to exist early in the century, the Royal Court of Mysore became the only centre of men of learning in the Deccan, and Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar surpassed even Chikadevaraja Wodayar in his devotion to the Muses. He also founded an English school in Mysore under European management, and took personal interest in its progress during many years.

Thus Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar was a monarch of manysided public interests and earned the esteem and love of his subjects of all ranks. He touched their lives at so many points, that his name came to be spoken of as the lamp of each household. Judged by Indian standards, he deserves anything but the calumny that his self-interested British critics have directed against him. Even judged by European standards, George IV, Charles I, and James II, Krishnaraja Wodayar ranks far above the average and is worthy of respect. Therefore it would be well for writers and speakers about him to get over their hallucinations, and cease to speak of him apologetically. It was bad that the Maharaja was made the victim of the conspiracy of the British officialdom of his day. It is absurd for chroniclers of to-day to allow themselves to be misguided by that conspiracy. Whether he was King de facto or de jure, he lead a generous, chivalrous, upright, and enlightened life, and in the long list of the galaxy of Kings of the Yadava dynasty he stands out as bright as any, and if Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagar deserved historic encomiums, Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar of Mysore deserves them no less. Thus would we commend his name to posterity.

The following proclamation was issued by the Commissioner to the people of Mysore on his death: "His Excellency the Right Honourable the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council announces to the Chiefs and people of Mysore, the death of His Highness the Maharaja Krishnaraja Wodayar Bahadur, Knight Grand Com-

mander of the most Exalted Order of the Star of India. This event is regarded with sorrow by the Government of India, with which the late Maharaja had preserved relations of friendship for more than half a century.

" His Highness Chamarajendra Wodayar, at present a minor, the adopted son of the late Maharaja, is acknowledged by the Government of India as his successor and as Maharaja of Mysore territories.

" During the minority of His Highness the said territories will be administered in His Highness's name by the British Government, and will be governed on the principles and under the same regulations as heretofore.

When His Highness shall attain to the period of majority, that is, the age of 18 years, and if His Highness shall then be found qualified for the discharge of the duties of his exalted position, the Government of the country will be entrusted to him, subject to such conditions as may be determined at that time."

The Proclamation of the succession of the adopted son was made. But the actual installation had to be awaited a long time.

The public were puzzledly expectant. And the Dowager Maharanis were counting the days and reminding Commissioner Bowring time and again. At last on the 10th August 1869 they addressed him in the following terms :

" Greetings of Maharani Chaluvajammanni and Devajammanni to Commissioner Bowring. It has been the long-standing practice in the Mysore Royal Family when

one King dies for his successor to be installed soon after the obsequies are over. But while you were pleased to recognise the right of our adopted child to succeed the late lamented Maharaja, you have not been pleased to celebrate the installation. We regret this very much. We have been repeatedly requesting you and through you the British Government to hasten the installation, and been receiving the reply that you have addressed the Home authorities in the matter and are awaiting their reply. As there has been no reply from them all this while, and as the Dasara religious ceremonial is approaching, and the non-performance of the installation before that would mean a breach of our immemorial custom, would be deregatory to the dignity of our Dynasty, and demeaning to the high standing of our State, we request you to kindly convey our above request by telegram to the Secretary of State in England, so that his consent may be received before the 1st of October or the commencement of Dasara. We shall appreciate it if you will favour us with a copy of the telegram so sent by you."

Ultimately the consent came, and the installation ceremony was accomplished on the 23rd September 1868 amidst great public rejoicings. Here is a picture of the young Prince on the occasion from Bowring's pen :

" The young Chief was conducted up the steps and when he took his seat was pelted from every corner of the court-yard by a storm of flowers, which lay several inches deep at the foot of the Throne, while a Royal Salute was fired, and the troops presented arms. The officiating Brahmins then pronounced some benedictory

prayers and offered to the young Raja water of the sacred streams with consecrated coconuts and rice. After this the genealogy of the Mysore Family was read aloud, and at its conclusion where the young Chief's name and titles were recited, the building resounded with the shouts and applause of the people.

"The next step was to present him with a Khillath of twenty one trays of shawls, cloths, and jewellery on the part of the Viceroy, while all the Rajabundus and high officials of the court came forward in turn, made their obeisance, and tendered their offerings, the ceremony being terminated by a distribution of pan, betel-nut, and garlands of flowers. During the whole time the little Raja behaved with the utmost decorum, neither allowing himself to be moved by the storm of boquets, nor by the vociferous adulations of his courtiers.

"In the afternoon, he held a Durbar in the great balcony fronting the court-yard of the Palace, having first walked round the throne scattering at its foot flowers in token of taking possession. On his ascending his seat he was again pelted with flowers by the bystanders, while tumultuous shouts of applause rose up from the dense crowds below!"

The Maharaja was placed under the care of a British Officer, Colonel Haines, as Guardian. He was succeeded in 1869 by Colonel Malleson who continued till 1876.

Soon after the adoption Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar had appointed Bhaskar Pant and Ranganna to commence the young Prince's education in Kannada, Sanskrit and English. On the death of the Maharaja,

the Chief Commissioner had appointed C. Rangacharlu of the Madras Service to look after the Palace affairs. On Malleson taking up office, a Royal school was started, away from the Palace, where instruction was imparted to the young Maharaja along with a few other select boys of the same age. A staff of teachers was appointed for the school, consisting of Messrs. Jayaram Rao, V. P. Madhava Rao, Ambil Narasimha Iyengar, and Basappa Sastry, Garalapuri Sastry and Abbas Hussain. The Maharaja took his place with other boys in lessons and games. Periodically he was taken on trips to Bangalore and other places and the summer was spent on the Hills at Ootacamund.

In 1872 when the Prince was nine years old, his Upanayana or initiation into religious education was performed. The same year he lost his mother, and was thereafter transferred from her residence to the Palace, under the care of the dowager Maharanis. In 1874 he was taken on a tour of the Northern parts of the State and visited the Gersoppa falls.

The visit of Prince Edward, son and heir of Queen Victoria, to Bombay in the year 1875 occasioned a visit to that city, and the young Maharaja attended the Birthday Reception of the Prince of Wales. An invitation was extended to the Prince to visit Mysore, but could not materialise as cholera broke out in the city.

Regarding the Prince's attainments at this period, the following epistle from his pen addressed from Ootacamund to one of his classmates in Mysore is indicative of his acquisitions in English speech and manners.

Ooty, Wednesday, 28th April 1875.

" My Dear Friend Mahamed Ibrahim,

We are quite well by the good grace of our Creator. I received your kind letter on the 28th April. I am very glad to see that letter. We are spending time in reading walking, running and everyday cricket playing. In reading Physical Geography of India we finished beginning three Chapters. We are going hunting twice a week and we killed one tiger and twenty porcupines and some jackals. Convey my best compliments to Abbas Khan, Bheema Rao, and C. Subbaraja Urs. Here all the boys give their compliments to you. I am Yours,

Chamaraja Wodayar."

Bowring left the Chief Commissionership in 1870. He was succeeded by Colonel Meade who held that office till 1875. Then came R. A. Dalyell for a year, and then C. B. Saunders whose two years from 1876 to 1878 proved the most anxious of the fifty years of the British Commission. The failure of rains in 1875 and 1876 resulted in a famine which destroyed over a million of the population, and caused considerable loss to the State. Relief works were started in many parts of the State, remissions of assessment were granted, the State forests were thrown open to grazing, house to house visits organised, and other palliative measures adopted. Rains failed in 1877 also. The surrounding Madras and Bombay districts also were hard hit. Panic and mortality spread among the people, and famine stalked through the land. From November the single Railway from

Madras to Bangalore, had been pouring 400 to 500 tons of grain a day, sufficient to support 9,00,000 people; yet in May there were 1,00,000 starving paupers fed in relief kitchens, in August 2,27,000, besides 60,000 employed in relief works paid in grain, and 20,000 on the railway to Mysore. A special Commissioner, Sir Richard Temple, was deputed by the India Government to superintend the campaign against famine, and the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, came himself to see things. A large number of military and Civil officers from Northern India were induced to volunteer for famine duty. A Famine Commissioner, and a Chief Engineer, were appointed.

Relief works were concentrated, and gratuitous relief was confined mostly to those whose condition was too low to turn out any work. At last in September and October 1878 the rains fell, and famine began to abate, but mortality and sickness still continued. Private wealth had been mostly spent away on food. A Mansion House Fund was raised in London, and helped to reinstate a number of agriculturists who had been left destitute, while missionaries took charge of orphans with the aid of Government contributions.

Consequent on the famine, the invested surplus of Rs.63 lakhs disappeared and a debt of Rs.80 lakhs had been incurred. The Revenue collections which had been Rs. 109 lakhs in 1875 fell down to Rs.82 lakhs in 1876 and to Rs.69 lakhs next year. In order to meet the deficit a retrenchment Committee was appointed, and on its advice abolition of non-essential posts and substitution

of high-paid Europeans by low-paid Indians were undertaken.

The Judicial Commissioner, James Gordon, was appointed Guardian to the young Maharaja in 1877, and in 1878 he was made Chief Commissioner also. He had therefore the responsibility of healing the bruise caused by the famine, equipping the Maharaja for Rulership, and fitting the administration for the Maharaja's rule. He coached the Maharaja in the system of administration of the country, and in 1880 took him on a tour throughout the State as the best means of impressing the lessons on his mind, and making him acquainted with the country he was soon to rule.

And on the 25th March 1881 the long-deferred Rendition took place.

We might here briefly notice the course of administration under the Commission. The task of the Commission was not to inaugurate a new system of Government but to reform flagrant abuse of the old, to liberate trade and commerce, to help the agricultural classes against tyranny and extortion, to purify the administration of justice, and develop the resources of the country. There were two revenue systems in force at the time. The former was brought back to the state in which Purniah had left it. The money rents were lowered in all cases where the authorities were satisfied that they were fixed at too high a rate, and the payments were made as easy as possible to the ryots by abandoning the system of exacting the kists before the crops were gathered, and receiving them in five instalments from

December onwards. This saved them from the grasp of the village usurers. With regard to batayi or payment of half-share of produce to Government the Division was to be made in public, the ryot had the right of first choice, and all the straw was left to him. In 1862 glaring defects were brought to the notice of the British Government by Commissioner Bowring, and it was ordered that the Bombay Revenue Survey system should be introduced in the State.

The villages of each Taluq having been divided into groups according to their respective advantages of climate, markets, and other particulars, and the relative values of the fields of each village having been determined from the classification of the soils, command of water for irrigation, or other extrinsic circumstances, the maximum rate to be levied on each description of cultivation was then fixed. The minimum rates were deducted according to the scale of inferiority of the soil and other points of consideration.

It was found that in the administration of justice the system and the establishment then current were inadequate to the wants of the country. Accordingly an order for the establishment of Courts of Justice was issued in 1830. Six grades of Courts were established, 85 Taluq Courts, 2 Town Munsiff Courts, 4 Superintendents' Courts, 1 Huzur Adalat, and 1 Court of the Commissioner. Villagers were encouraged to use arms of every description in defending their person and property.

Reviewing the work of the Commission at the end of 25 years Lord Dalhousie, Governor General, wrote in 1856:

"The Governor General in Council has read with attention, and with very great interest, the papers submitted. They present a record of administration highly honourable to the British name, and reflecting the utmost credit upon the exertions of the valuable body of officers by whom the great results shown therein have been accomplished.

"In the past autumn the Governor General had the opportunity of witnessing some portion of these results with his own eyes, during his journey from the Neilgherries through Mysore to Madras. His journey was necessarily a hasty one. Even the cursory examination of the country which alone was practicable during the course of a week's visit, enables him to bear testimony to the extent to which works of public improvement have been carried in Mysore, and to the favourable contrast which the visible condition of the Territory and of its people presents to the usual condition of the Territory of a Native Prince, and even to the state of districts of our own which may sometimes be seen.

"During the period of 25 years which had elapsed since Mysore came under the administration of British Officers, every department has felt the hand of reform. An enormous number of distinct taxes have been abolished, relieving the people in direct payment to the extent of 10¼ lakhs of rupees a year, and doubtless the

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indirect relief given by this measure has exceeded even the direct relief. Excepting a low tax upon coffee, no new tax appears to have been imposed, and no old tax appears to have been increased. Nevertheless the public revenue has risen from 44 to 82 lakhs of rupees per annum.

"In the administration of Civil and Criminal justice vast improvements have been accomplished: regularity, order and purity have been introduced, where under Native Rule caprice, uncertainty and corruption prevailed, substantial justice is promptly dispensed, and the people themselves have been taught to aid in this branch of the administration by means of a system of panchayat which is in full and efficient operation. And in the department of Police, the administration of British officers has been eminently successful. In short the system of administration which has been established, whether in the Fiscal or Judicial department, although it may be and no doubt is, capable of material improvement, is infinitely superior to that which it superseded, and has, within itself, the elements of constant progress."

He however suggested changes which were introduced in the administration during the next few years. In 1856 a Judicial Commissioner was appointed in order to take over judicial work from the Commissioner. The formation of a Public Works' Department and a Department of Education also commenced that year. In 1861 the Head Quarter establishments were revised and additional European Assistants appointed. The Police force was reorganised in 1861. Forest conservancy was com-

menced, and Botanical Gardens were formed at the Lal Bagh. A Government Printing Press was established. The Mohatarfa taxes were revised. The discrepancies which obliged a man with a retail shop to pay thirty or forty rupees annually, while his neighbour in possession of a large store paid only four annas; and the system under which ryots of the same village paid sometimes one rupee and a half, and sometimes half anna, on their ploughs, were finally and completely abolished. All houses, shops, looms and mills were registered and assessed under four classes with distinct rates ranging from Rs. 60 for the largest mercantile store in Bangalore or Mysore, to half a rupee on a village-hut or loom. The cultivating ryots were exempt from mohatarfa, but paid a plough-tax of 3 or 6 annas which was formed into a Local Fund for the maintenance of cross-roads. In 1856 also began the publication of Annual Budget and Administration Reports, though Commissioner Bowring was opposed to the annual budget system of receipts and expenditure. "He failed to see," he said, "the use of a budget estimate when Mysore had nothing to do with other provinces, and any surplus remaining belonged to that Government only." All that was required, according to him, was that there was to be a surplus remaining at the end of the year.

A Code of Civil procedure and one of Criminal Procedure were introduced about 1861. Legislative Enactments of the Government of India or of Madras, Bengal, or Bombay, if found suitable to Mysore, were introduced by application to the Governor General. A regular

Police Force was introduced about the year 1866. A scheme for the establishment for Public Instruction, inspection of schools, and training of teachers was introduced in 1867. The State consisted of 645 hoblies with an average area of 41 square miles and population of some 6040 persons, and each hobli was to be provided with a school. An education cess of 1 anna in the rupee was to be levied on the land revenue to defray the expenses of the new scheme. Municipal Committees were formed in 1862 at Bangalore and Mysore for managing local affairs, and by 1865 all the district head-quarters were provided with such Committees.

In taking stock of the Commission's administration, a happening of 1866 cannot be overlooked. Owing to the Civil War in America regarding slavery, there was a shortage of cotton, and the ryots of Dharwar and Bellary gave up growing food-grains and took up cotton cultivation. Then Mysore's grain stocks began to find their way to those Districts, and left the home-country. Meanwhile rains in 1866 failed and famine conditions commenced. Prices of available food-grains rose 400 per cent. And many people had to subsist on the ground flour of tamarind kernels and cotton seed, and on aloe-root and other roots and leaves. A public Committee was formed in Bangalore to buy grain cheap and sell it to the people at cost price. But Commissioner Bowring entirely dissociated Government from the effort, and refused to render any help. Famine relief was not part of his red-tape administrative duties!

A survey settlement introduced in 1863 provided for a fixed field assessment, with security of tenure for a period of 30 years. In 1866 an Inam Commission was set up and was reorganised in 1872. The Survey system was that followed by the Bombay Government, the Inam Settlement was a copy of that of Madras Government, and the Municipalities were modelled on that of the Punjab Government. A railway line was being run between Bangalore and Madras, and a metre gauge line was commenced from Bangalore to Mysore, and 68 miles of it completed by 1881.

The first regular census of population was taken in 1871, and showed a strength of 44⅓ lakhs. About a fifth of it was lost in the famine of 1876. In 1881 it stood at 42 lakhs. The census of 1891 showed an increase of 9 per cent over that of 1871. The census of 1901 showed a population increase of 10 per cent during the ten years.

The revenue in 1871 was 106 lakhs. It fell in 1876 owing to famine, but recovered by 1891.

At the close of 1876 the young Maharaja and party proceeded to Delhi to attend the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Empress Queen Victoria. On the way back the Chief Commissioner Saunders and C. V. Rangacharlu, the Palace Officer, had looked for a bride for the Maharaja in the Royal house of Rewa. But the Dowager Queen was not in favour of alliance from a strange family, and a bride was searched for nearer home. Ultimately the choice fell on a daughter of the

Kalale family. The marriage was celebrated in May 1878 when the Maharaja was 16 years old and Maharani Kempananjammanni was 12 years old. And. on the 26th March 1881 the Maharaja was formally installed as actual Ruler of the territory of his ancestors. That was the day for which Mummadi Krisharaja Wodayar had yearned and strived. His efforts bore fruit 14 years after his demise, and the administration of Mysore was back in the hands of a scion of the Yadava dynasty.

But it was not a complete surrender on the part of the British. It was only partial evacuation with right of supervision. An Instrument of Transfer laid down the terms under which the Young Ruler was entrusted with the administration. The main terms were :—The Maharaja and his descendants could administer the territories as long as they fulfilled the conditions of the Instrument. Succession would not be valid until recognised by the British Government. The Maharaja and his successor should remain faithful in allegiance and subordination to Her Majesty and her successors. An annual sum of Rs. 35 lakhs should be paid to the British Government for protection offered, and in lieu of military help. Seringapatam would be restored to the Maharaja. No new fortress or stronghold was to be built or old one repaired. No arms or ammunition could be manufactured or imported without permission. No fortress could be constructed or improved. The British could maintain cantonments wherever they liked in the State. The Maharaja's military force could not exceed the number fixed by the British. The Maharaja could

have no foreign relations except through the British. There would be no separate coinage. The British could lay telegraph and railway lines in the State. Trial of Europeans would vest with the Governor General. All current laws should continue and not be altered without permission. The Maharaja should conform at all times to such advice as may be offered by the Governor General in the administration of the State. In the event of breach by the Maharaja of the conditions, the British were free to resume possession of the territories. The Governor General in Council would be the final arbiter as to whether the conditions prescribed were fulfilled or not.

CHAMARAJENDRA WODAYAR

The Installation of the young Maharaja took place on the 25th March 1881, when he was just 18. On the same day the following proclamation was issued in his name :

" Whereas the Government of the territories of Mysore heretofore administered on our behalf by the British Government, has this day been transferred to us by the Proclamation of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India in Council, we do hereby notify and declare that we have this day assumed charge of the said Government ; and we call upon all our subjects within the said territories to be faithful and to bear true allegiance to us, our heirs and successors.

"We do hereby further declare that all laws and rules having the force of law now in force in the said territories, shall continue to be in force in the said territories.

"We hereby accept as binding upon us all grants and settlements heretofore made by the British Government within the said territories, in accordance with the respective terms thereof, except in so far as they may be rescinded or modified either by a competent Court of Law, or with the consent of the Governor General in Council.

"We hereby confirm all existing courts of judicature within the said territories in the respective jurisdiction now vested in them, and we further confirm in their respective appointments, the judges and all other officers, Civil and Military, now holding office within the said territories.

"For the conduct of the executive administration of the said territories under our command and control, we have resolved to appoint a Dewan. And we, placing trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability and judgment of C. V. Rangacharlu, C.I.E., do hereby appoint the said C. V. Rangacharlu, C.I.E., to be our Dewan for the conduct of the executive administration of the said territories.

"His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council having complied with our request to lend us the services of the present Judicial Commissioner, J. D. Sandford, M.A., Bar-at-law to aid us in the administration of justice in our territories, we hereby confirm

the said Mr. J. D. Sandford in his appointment under the designation of Chief Judge of Mysore.

"We have further resolved that a Council shall be formed to be styled "The Council of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore" which shall consist of the Dewan for the time being as Ex-officio President, and two or more members specially appointed by us from time to time. It shall be the duty of the members of the said Council to submit for our consideration their opinions on all questions relating to legislation and taxation, and on all other important measures connected with the good administration of our territories and the well-being of our subjects. We are accordingly pleased to appoint C. V. Rangacharlu, C.I.E., Dewan, Ex-officio President, T. R. A. Thumboo Chetty, Judge, Ex-officio Member, P. Krishna Rao, R. A. Sabhapathy Mudaliar, Members, to be Members of the said Council, and to hold office as such Councillors for the term of three years or during our pleasure. Given under our hand and seal this the 25th day of March 1881."

Two of the Councillors, Rangacharlu and Thumboo Chetty, were men of exceptional ability and probity. They had stood out with remarkable brilliance among their compeers in the course of their education, and starting from the lowest rungs of the official ladder, had risen quickly and earned the highest encomiums of their official heads. Thumboo Chetty came to Mysore in 1867 as Judicial Sheristadar just before Krishnaraja Wodayar's death. Rangacharlu also came the year after Krishnaraja Wodayar's death to be in charge

of Palace affairs. For nearly 20 years the former was judge of the High Court and First Member of Council. A more sedate, more well-meaning, more thoughtful, and more statesmanlike administrator and Councillor could not have been found. Rangacharlu became Revenue Secretary and Dewan, was a man of lively intellect, wide outlook and far-seeing statesmanship, who has left his name indelibly in the history of Mysore. Thumboo Chetty has recorded that on his entry into Mysore Service in 1867 he sought an interview with the old Maharaja, and "As I stood up and made my obeisance and craved leave to depart, His Highness gave a gentle tap on my shoulder, and with a majestic look and a powerful voice, said 'Young as you are, you have a long career of usefulness before you. You are new to Mysore, but I am sure you will be kind and sympathetic to the Mysoreans, always treating them as your own countrymen.'"

Mysoreans who were aspirants for high office campaigned against Rangacharlu as a foreign adventurer, but untrammelled by any criticism he carried on the work of reorganising the State. We are told that on his appointment as Palace Comptroller on the death of Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar, Rangacharlu checked many malpractices which were current within the Palace precincts. Ignorance he could and did excuse, but not corruption. The latter was a vice which in his opinion it was impossible too severely to punish. As Controller he put into practice some of the admirable views on which, while Head Sheristadar in Nellore he had pub-

lished some ably written pamphlets. He had such deep-rooted abhorrence of the crime, that he dealt the most severe and exemplary punishment to those found guilty of it. He rid the Palace of a number of useless sycophants who were fattening upon the Palace resources. In 1874 he published in England a pamphlet styled "The British administration of Mysore." It brought him to the limelight, and in 1877 he was honoured with the title of C.I.E., and in 1878 was appointed Revenue Secretary.

The great famine had just depleted the population by a million, impoverished the country to the extent of ten millions, and drained the Treasury and loaded the State with a debt. The revenue of the Government had shrunk, and there was a large staff of highly paid officials, mostly European. Judicial Commissioner James Gordon was made Chief Commissioner, and it was Rangacharlu's task to help him to restore the financial equilibrium of the State. He had learnt by experience that the best way to improve the financial condition of an impoverished exchequer was not to increase the existing items of taxation and enhance the already high rates of assessment, but to reduce expenditure without prejudice to the efficiency of the administration. Commissioner Gordon concurred in his retrenchment policy, and as a result a Native Secretary and Revenue Commissioner were substituted for the three Commissioners. The salary of Deputy Commissioners was reduced from Rs. 1000-1500 to 700-1000. Eight of the 27 Assistant Commissionerships were abolished, all European Assistant Commissioners on

large salaries were replaced, and similar substitution of efficient native officials in place of Europeans was pursued in the other Departments also. The end of the first year of the adoption of Rangacharlu's policy showed a surplus of two and a half lakhs of rupees in the State budget. Thus Rangacharlu became the obvious choice for Dewanship when the Rendition came about shortly after.

The post-famine conditions of the State still made things very difficult, and there was an under-current of local antagonism by Mysoreans who were chagrined by his snatching away coveted places from their reach. But, we are told, Rangacharlu possessed the intelligent appreciation and co-operation of the Maharaja, who, "though too young to lead, had grown old enough to be worthily led."

So he could give effect to the policy of retrenchment, and as a result Hassan and Chitaldrug ceased to be separate districts for Civil and Criminal administration, nine taluqs were reduced to Deputy Amildars' stations, four Munsiffs' courts and three Sub-courts were abolished, as also the establishments of a number of Travellers' bungalows meant for European officials.

Surveying the general condition of the State, the new Dewan found that Mysore showed all facilities for irrigation, but still a large area remained uncultivated and a large area ill-cultivated. This defect in the agricultural industry, Rangacharlu argued, was to be attributed not to a want of irrigational conveniences, but

to a want of life and enterprise in the agricultural portion of the population. The cure for this defect was "Railways."

He declared, "The urgent want of the Province is not irrigation, but life and enterprise in the cultivator, and what can evoke them so successfully as that great civiliser of modern days, the Railways? With the increase of activity and intelligence which are sure to come in the train of these quicker means of transport and communications, we may hope for a considerable increase of private irrigation and garden cultivation for which the Province is peculiarly adapted."

But he also knew that there could be no improvement in any field of public affairs if the public concerned were apathetic. Therefore, with the object of taking the public into confidence, he advised the young Maharaja to issue a proclamation announcing the formation of a Representative Assembly, so that the views and objects of his Government should be better known and appreciated by the people for whose benefit the Government existed. For this purpose, the Representative Assembly was to meet during Dasara annually, when the Dewan would place the result of the previous year's administration, and the programme for the coming year. "Such an arrangement" the proclamation remarked, "by bringing the people in immediate communication with the Government, would serve to remove from their minds any misapprehension in regard to the views and action of the Government, and would convince them that the interests of Government are identical with those of the people."

The first Assembly consisted of two cultivating land-owners from each taluq, and 3 to 4 leading merchants from each District were invited officially and their expenses were met. It consisted of 144 members, and the Dewan, presiding, explained the wish of the Maharaja to bring the administration into greater harmony with the wishes of the people, and invited the members to make any observations and suggestions in the public interest.

The Second Session met the next year and Dewan Rangacharlu in his Address dwelt on the importance of local self-government, and asked the people to take more active interest in the administration of the country. He wisely observed, "If the spread of any high degree of education among the great mass of the people were to be insisted as a *sine qua non*, we may have to wait for ever. Meanwhile every year under an autocratic system of Government we find the people less fit for Representative Institutions. The real education for self-Government can only be acquired by the practical exercise of administrative functions and responsibilities under the guidance of officers of administrative tact and experience." And he warned the people against letting such representative institutions "fall into apathy or breed a factious spirit among the members."

Not long after, this sage adviser was called away from his earthly labours. Within his brief 21 months Dewanship he had rendered services of outstanding interest to Mysore, besides the founding of the Representative Assembly. His railway policy he had immediately

put into effect, with a borrowed capital of Rs. 20 lakhs, and plans to set apart Rs. 5 lakhs each year out of the revenues for the proposed lines were completed.

The British debt of Rs. 80 lakhs taken during the famine was carrying 5 per cent interest, a heavy drain, and the whole amount could be demanded back at any moment. To obviate such a contingency he opened correspondence with the British Government, stressing the impoverished condition of Mysore, and the mismanagement of the famine-relief works during the British regime. As a result the Governor General agreed to reduce the interest rate to 4 per cent, and to stretch over the payment of principal to 41 annual instalments of 4 lakhs each.

Another good seed that he planted was Women's Education. Cubbon did not believe in State education. Bowring did believe in it but confined it to men. It was the opinion at the time, as stated at the National Indian Association, London, that the belling of the cat should be done by the public. "The question is, who is to do it; the rulers of the country cannot do it; it must be done by the people; in fact it must be done by the educated women." However, unofficially Dewan Rangacharlu gave full encouragement to it. He found an excellent coadjutor in the work in Rai Bahadur Ambil Narasimhiengar, tutor to the Maharaja and later Durbar Bakshi. In 1880 a public meeting was held in Mysore with Hindu gentlemen, who decided to start a Girls' school in Mysore with private subscriptions. Accordingly, as a memento of the Rendition a Girls' School was started

in 1881 with 28 students. Teaching was mostly in Kanarese and care was taken to conform to native customs and feelings.

How scrupulously they had to adhere to that principle is shown by the following episode in which Dewan Rangacharlu himself was involved. Music was introduced shortly after the start, and the scandal that gossipping women spread reached Mrs. Rangacharlu who straightway tackled her husband. By the way, she was a sister of Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar, the lion of the Madras Bar. The result was that Rangacharlu went to the School the next morning and summarily turned out the music master! As the poor man was going out he was met by Rai Bahadur Narasimhiyengar who was just entering, and narrated to him what had happened. "I then asked him to go in notwithstanding," writes that gentleman, "and found Mr. Rangacharlu quite furious against me. I begged of him to have patience for an hour, and see what kind of music was being taught and then judge for himself. He very kindly agreed to it, and the cause of music won the day! He was very sorry he had been misled, said that he was convinced that not only was there no harm in music, but that it was essential to the education of girls. He further advised me to invite his wife to see the School. I waited upon her that very afternoon, and her visit to the school the next morning completely changed her opinion! She was thoroughly pleased with all that she saw of the school, and herself being a lady of some education and accomplishments gave several valuable suggestions,

and from that day sent two of her daughters to the school!"

Dewan Rangacharlu died in January 1883. British administrators spoke of him as a "Statesman in the highest sense of the word, as one who cared not only for the present but for the future." The Maharaja regretted that by his death he had been deprived "of an able, faithful and devoted counsellor, and that the people of the State had lost a true and sympathetic friend." His official colleagues bore testimony to his manliness of character, his unselfishness, his frankness, honesty, wisdom as an administrator, remarkable intellect, unassuming simplicity, and irreproachable purity of his public and private life." The Rangacharlu Memorial Hall in Mysore built out of public contributions bears testimony to their appreciation of his notable services to the State.

His successor as Dewan was K. Sheshadri Iyer. He was the third of the talented triad who, like Scotsmen going to London, had found their way from Madras to Mysore in 1867 and 1868, Thumboo Chetty, Rangacharlu, and Seshadri Iyer. Thumboo Chetty came as Judicial Sheristedar, Rangacharlu as Palace Controller, Seshadri Iyer succeeding Thumboo Chetty on his being made a judge. Sheshadri Iyer continued as Dewan from 1883 to 1901. The name that he has left behind in Mysore politics is something like Gladstone's in England and Bismarck's in Germany. He was described by Sir William Hunter "as a statesman who had given his head to Herbert Spencer and his heart to Parabrahma," or the Supreme God.

Thumboo Chetty and others continued as Members of Council with the Dewan as Ex-officio President. The Councillors were held together by mutual respect, consideration, and consultations. The handsome and enlightened young Maharaja had confidence in them, and they counselled him loyally. The standard, the discipline, of the administration, the progress of the State, the prosperity of the people, all ensued with remarkable rapidity.

Visiting the State five years after the Maharaja assumed control, in 1886 Lord Dufferin the Viceroy declared, " When I remember that not many years ago the State and neighbourhood were the centre of a cruel despotism and the theatre of war and confusion, of race hatred and religious animosities, I cannot help congratulating the Maharaja on the change which has intervened. Under the benevolent rule of himself and his Dynasty, good Government, enlightened progress, universal peace, and the blessings of education are everywhere in the ascendant, and there is no State within the confines of the Indian Empire, which has more fully justified the wise policy of the British Government in supplementing its own direct administration of its vast territories by the associated rule of our great Feudatory Princes."

A few years later, in 1892, Lord Lansdowne added his appreciation of the things that had been accomplished: " Eleven years ago," he said, " His Majesty's Government after administering Mysore for half a century, and after expending much thought and pains in

order to place its affairs upon a sound footing, determined to replace it in charge of an Indian Ruler. I am glad to bear witness to the fact that to the best of my belief, His Highness has never given us cause to regret the decision carried out in 1881 by Lord Rippon's Government. The Mysore State, far from adding to our care and anxieties, has been administered with much success, its people are contented with their position, and its Ruler has shown by his acts that he was worthy of the trust reposed in him. His Highness has received an education which has enabled him to profit by the culture and wider political ideas of the West, but he has not lost touch of his own people or forfeited their confidence, and there is probably no State in India where the Ruler and the Ruled are on more satisfactory terms, or in which the great principle upon which His Highness has insisted, that Government should be for the happiness of the governed, received a greater measure of practical recognition."

Let us note that the economic achivements of the fifty years' rule of the British Commission were practically wiped out by the devastating famine and its after effects during its last quinquenniums. A fifth of the population had been swept away. The accumulated surplus of nearly a crore of rupees had disappeared, and in its place there was a debt of rupees 80 lakhs to the British Government. The cash balance in the Treasury had become insufficient for the ordinary requirements of the administration. Every source of revenue was at its lowest. And the severe retrenchment which followed

had left every department of the State in an enfeebled condition.

At such a juncture Chamaraja Wodayar received charge of the administration of the State. His first task was to safeguard against a recurrence of such famines in the future. Railways and irrigation works became therefore his first care. The record of the first four years of his reign is one of severe and sustained struggle, crippled resources on the one hand and increasing railway expenditure on the other imposing on the new administration the most vigilant financial management. By 1884 a length of 140 miles of railways were completed mainly out of current revenues. The further extention of the railways was entrusted to the M.S.M. Railway Company under certain terms. The State's resources were then devoted to the expansion of irrigation in tracts most requiring that facility.

At first the machinery of the administration was highly centralised. The Dewan or the Executive Councillor had direct control, without intervening departmental heads, of all the departments such as Land Revenue, Forest, Excise, Mining, Police, Education, Muzrai, and Legislative. As the finances improved and department after department was put into good working order and showed signs of expansion, separate Heads were appointed, for Forests and Police in 1885, for Excise in 1889, for Muzrai in 1891, and for Mining in 1894. The appointment of a separate Land Revenue Commissioner came about in 1894. Thus progressive decentralisation was put into effect.

In 1881 the liabilities of the State exceeded the assets by some 30 lakhs of rupees, and there was an annual deficit of 1¼ lakhs. During the first years of Chamaraja Wodayar's reign the revenue was generally stationary, and in the fourth year there was a decline due to drought, but during the next ten years there was steady growth, rising by 1895 from 103 lakhs to 180 lakhs, and after a liberal expenditure on all works of public utility, the net assets rose to over 176 lakhs.

The means of the increase was not new taxation. It was the result of natural growth under the stimulus afforded by the opening out of the country by means of new roads and railways, irrigation works, and increased industries. The land revenue rose from 69 lakhs of rupees to 96 lakhs and the cultivated area from 6154 square miles to 9863 square miles. The Excise revenue nearly quadrupled, that from Forests and from Stamps and Registration doubled.

It was also then that the State began to yield gold. It was worked by English Mining Companies, Government securing a royalty on the value of the gold produced. The Revenue Survey and Settlement was carried on and completed in 63 out of 66 taluqs in the State. The season of revenue payment on land was deferred, so that the ryot might have time to find a good market. Revenue laws were codified, vexatious restrictions on the enjoyment and transfer of land were removed, and as a means of remedying agricultural indebtedness land mortgage banks were introduced. In the field of education the number of Government and aided schools increased

from 866 to 1797, the attendance of boys rising from 39,400 to 83,400, and of girls from 3000 to 12,000. 800 Primary Vernacular schools, 56 English Middle Schools, 5 Industrial Schools, two Normal Schools, 30 Sanskrit Schools, a First Grade English College, and 3 Oriental Colleges were started during the reign.

A sum of one crore of rupees was spent on original irrigation works during the reign, adding 355 square miles to the area under wet cultivation, bringing an additional revenue of 8¼ lakhs. 1078 irrigation wells were completed as an important means of famine protection. Rs. 67 lakhs were spent on roads, increasing the mileage from 3930 to 5107. Rs. 18 lakhs were spent for roads in the malnad districts. The Railway lines were increased from 58 miles in 1881 to 315 miles by the end of the Maharaja's reign. Twenty-four new municipalities were created.

Some 28 lakhs of rupees were spent on sanitation during the reign improving and extending the cities of Mysore and Bangalore considerably, and arranging for the water supply of Bangalore as well as of several other moffusil towns. The number of hospitals and dispensaries were increased from 19 to 114, training of midwives was instituted, and 63 out of 66 taluqs were provided with midwives, and 5 hospitals for women and children were opened at district headquarters.

The inauguration of Women's Education at the start of the Maharaja's reign, we have already referred to. In 1889 on the occasion of the visit of His Royal Highness Albert, Prince of Wales, to Mysore, he was

taken to the parent institution started by Rai Bahadur Narasimha Iyengar and Dewan Rangacharlu, and was so struck with what he saw that he expressed his intention "of informing the Queen of the progress of this model school". Other visitors, Their Highnesses The Gaekwar and the Maharani of Baroda, and Sir Robert Lethbridge remarked that the school stood "absolutely in the van of Female Education in India, and owing so much to the Maharaja's enlightened care and interest, may well be regarded by His Highness as one of the brightest jewels in his crown!"

Presenting a new building to the school in 1889, His Highness the Maharaja observed, "You are all aware that this School, which was started only a few years ago, is now one of the most popular institutions in Mysore. I have watched its progress with great attention, and have hitherto accommodated it in a part of the Jaganmohan Palace premises. I believe that it has now acquired those dimensions which make it desirable that it should have a proper separate school house.

"The importance of female education to the well-being and progress of Hindu Society has long been recognised. But the difficulty has hitherto been, how to interest the conservative classes in the movement and secure their active sympathy. The revival of female education in this country, after a long period of neglect, had come to be looked upon with the suspicion which innovation always rouses in the Hindu mind. Taking therefore a just estimate of the forces they had

to deal with, the leaders of the movement in Mysore established this school, upon principles which, while aiming at imparting useful knowledge, avoided all unnecessary shock to long-standing prejudices, and by that means enlisted the active co-operation of even the most conservative classes. The result they have achieved has been pronounced by native gentlemen from all parts of India as a grand solution of one of our great social problems. It is this concurrence of opinion from persons of different nationalities and religions that has encouraged me and my officers to persevere with the institution and to endeavour to place it on a stable footing."

A first class College for the study of various branches of Sanskrit learning was started in 1882 in Mysore, and the annual convocation of Sanskrit graduates formed part of the Dasara series of Durbars, at which shawls and money presents were bestowed on the successful candidates. In 1887, as a memento of the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria, a Jubilee Institute and Oriental Library was established in the Capital, for the collection of Oriental manuscripts and books and the publication of the more valuable manuscripts of olden times.

The Royal Court comprised many Kannada poets and scholars notable, among them being Basappa Sastry, Karibasappa Sastry and Ayya Sastry. An order of titles was instituted as a reward for meritorious service in office, for outstanding oriental scholarship, for munificent charity, and for mastery in the field of music. Returning from a trip to Bombay where he had witnessed

Parsee Dramatic entertainments, the Maharaja got the necessary equipment for establishing a Kannada stage, and had a theatrical troupe organised under the aegis of the Palace. Kannada writers were encouraged to translate the most famous Sanskrit and English dramas, Kalidasa's *Sakuntala*, Sri Harsha's *Ratnavali*, Bhavabhooti's *Uttararamacharita*, the famous *Mritchakatika*, and Shakespeare's *Othello*.

The Representative Assembly which His Highness had planted with the aid of Dewan Rangacharlu, who may be called the short-lived Walpole of Mysore history, grew into a robust tree under the eye of the Ruler. In England the growth of Parliament was the outcome of the jostling and conflict between the Representatives and the Sovereign. In Mysore the growth of the Representative Assembly was the result of the relationship between the people and the Dewan and the body of executive officials. The Maharaja was the umpire disinterestedly watching the conflict and often helpful to the party in distress. Dewan Seshadri Iyer was a gardener of the severe type, and as a result of his rough training, what was merely a consultative nominated body became a truly Representative Assembly elected by the people themselves. In 1881 there were only 144 members, in 1883 there were 154; in 1884 the number rose to 183 and in 1885 to 198. The next year District and Local Fund Boards were established and were allowed to send representatives. This increased the strength to 279, and as the number increased, the interests became wider, and control by the Dewan more

difficult. Till then all the members were nominated by the District officials without any specific qualification of membership. In 1887 a property qualification was imposed for the effective representation of the varied interests in the country. In 1891 rules were framed to give the people an electoral right. A land tax of Rs. 100 to Rs. 300 a year or a Municipal rate of Rs. 13 to 17, was fixed as the qualification to vote. The number of elected representatives was thereby raised to 357. In 1894 however the property qualification was reduced, and 78 Minor Municipalities disenfranchised and the strength of the Assembly fixed at 275 members elected once in 3 years. In 1886 when the Representative Assembly presented an address to the Viceroy His Excellency the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, he replied, "Gentlemen, allow me to thank you for the friendly welcome with which you have greeted me. I am glad to see you around me, and am pleased to think that the Maharaja should have called to his counsels men of such intelligence, influence and authority. I am sure that both His Highness and the State will derive equal profit from your assistance."

While thus Chamaraja Wodayar's reign is notable for many progressive achievements, his name has become particularly memorable to the outside world by the patronage he accorded to that luminous scion of the 19th century India, Swamy Vivekananda. As Philip of Spain helped Columbus to embark on his voyage and discover America, so Chamaraja Wodayar helped Vivekananda to proceed to America to attend the Parliament of Religions

at Chicago in order to uncover the spiritual glory of the East to the West. The fame that he achieved there for himself and for India may be said to be an indirect contribution of Maharaja Chamaraja Wodayar of Mysore. The following letter which Swamy Vivekananda addressed to the Maharaja from America is of permanent interest :

June 23rd 1894.

" Sri Narayana bless you and yours. Through your Highness's kind help it has been possible for me to come to this country. Since then I have become well-known here, and the hospitable people of this country have supplied all my wants. It is a wonderful country and this is a wonderful nation in many respects. No other nation apply so much machinery in their every day work as do the people of this country. Everything is machine. Then again, they are only one-twentieth of the whole population of the world. Yet they have fully one-sixth of all the wealth of the world. There is no limit to their wealth and luxuries. Yet everything here is so dear. The wages of labour are the highest in the world; yet the fight between labour and capital is constant.

" Nowhere on earth have women so many privileges as in America. They are slowly taking everything into their hands, and, strange to say, the number of cultured women is much greater than that of cultured men. Of course the higher order of geniuses are mostly from the rank of males. With all the criticism of the Westerners against our caste, they have a worse one,

that of money! The almighty dollar, as the Americans say, can do anything here.

"The theories of creation out of nothing, of a created soul, and of a big tyrant of a God sitting on a throne in a place called Heaven, and of the eternal hell-fires, have disgusted all the educated, and the noble thoughts of the Vedas about Eternity, of creation and the Soul, about the God in one's own soul, they are imbibing fast in one shape or other. Within fifty years the educated of the world will come to believe in the eternity of both soul and creation, and in God as our highest and perfect nature as taught in our holy Vedas. Even now their learned priests are interpreting the Bible in that way. My conclusion is, that they require more spiritual civilisation, and we, more material.

"One thing that is at the root of all evils in India is the condition of the poor. The poor in the west are devils; compared to them ours are Angels, and it is therefore so much the easier to raise our poor. The only service to be done for our lower classes is, to give them education, to develop their lost individuality. That is the great task between our people and the princes. Up to now nothing has been done in that direction. Priest power and foreign conquest have trodden them down for centuries, and at last the poor of India have forgotten that they are human beings. They are to be given ideas, their eyes are to be opened to what is going on in the world around them, and then they will work out their own salvation. Every nation, every man and every woman must work out their own salvation. Give them

ideas—that is the only help they require, and then the rest must follow as the effect. Ours is to put the chemicals together, the crystallisation comes in the Law of Nature. Our duty is to put ideas into their heads, they will do the rest.

"This is what is to be done in India. It is this idea that has been in my mind for a long time. I could not accomplish it in India and that was the reason of my coming to this country. The great difficulty in the way of educating the poor, is this. Supposing even Your Highness opens a free school in every village, still it would do no good, for the poverty of India is such that the poor boys would rather go to help their fathers in the fields, or otherwise try to make a living than come to the school. Now if the mountain does not come to Mohammed, Mohammed must go to the mountain. If the poor boy does not come to education, education must go to him. There are thousands of single-minded self-sacrificing sanyasins in our own country going from village to village teaching religion. If some of them can be organised as teachers of secular things also, they will go from place to place, from door to door, not only preaching but teaching also. Suppose two of these men go to a village in the evening with a camera, a globe, some maps, etc , they can teach a great deal of Astronomy and Geography to the ignorant. By telling stories about different nations, they can give the poor a hundred times more information through the ear than they can get in a life-time through books. This requires an organisation, which again means money. Men enough there are in

India to work out this plan, but alas! they have no money. It is very difficult to set a wheel in motion, but when once set, it goes on with increasing velocity. After seeking help in my own country, and failing to get any sympathy from the rich, I came to this country through Your Highness's aid. The Americans do not care whether the poor in India die or live. And why should they, our own people never think of anything but their own selfish ends!"

"My noble Prince, this life is short, the vanities of the world are transient, but they alone live who live for others, the rest are more dead than alive. One such high, nobleminded and Royal son of India as Your Highness can do much towards raising India on her feet again, and thus leave a name to posterity which shall be worshipped. That the Lord may make your noble heart feel intensely for the suffering millions of India sunk in ignorance, is the prayer of Vivekananda!"

Innumerable persons, to whom Vivekananda's name is an embalmed memory, would find the above letter of surpassing interest. That he should have entertained such high regard for Chamaraja Wodayar as testified by the letter is evidence of the Maharaja's—after all he was only 31 years old,—fine feelings and attractive personality. H. H. Chamaraja Wodayar's succouring this illustrious personage, like the Gaekwar of Baroda's fostering another illustrious Indian, Arabindo Ghosh, entitles him to the approbation and respect of his countrymen.

"My noble Prince, this life is short, the vanities of the world are transient," wrote Vivekananda to the

Maharaja on June 23rd 1894. The words proved more prophetic than Swamy Vivekananda realised. Just six months later, on the 28th December 1894 Maharaja Chamaraja Wodayar departed this life for the green fields of Elyseum!

He had gone on a cold weather tour to Calcutta, then the Capital of the Indian Empire. On his arrival at Calcutta a slight throat affection which he had been feeling during the journey developed into diphtheria and was beyond medical aid, and he passed away. His family, Maharani Vanivilasa Sannidhana, and two sons and three daughters, as well as Dewan Sir K. Seshadri Iyer who had accompanied him on the journey, were heart-broken, and cremating his mortal remains in Kalighat, returned to Mysore, widowed, orphaned, and bereft.

The President of the Indian National Congress which was in Session, Alfred Webb, M.P., referred thus to the calamity from the national platform: "Friends and fellow subjects, You all feel the heavy and dark clouds under which we meet to-day. The bright sunshine and the blue sky outside are in ill accord with the feeling of depression and sadness which reign now in our own hearts. There is no need for me to mention the reason for the fact. We all know and feel since last night when we heard of the death of the Maharaja of Mysore, that this Congress could not end in the joyful manner in which it commenced. There is no need that I should say anything relating to the character, the services, the patriotism and life of the deceased Maharaja. That of course will be properly spoken on other

occasions by men who have known him and who are fully aware of his services to his country and to his race. It remains for me to propose this resolution which of course will be received by you standing in solemn silence!"

According to a contemporary Englishman's estimate, he was dignified and unassuming, and his bearing was that of "an English gentleman." An accomplished horseman and whip, fond of sport, a liberal patron of the turf, and hospitable as a host, while at the same time careful in the observance of Hindu customs, he was popular both with Europeans and Indians. His palace was purged of all evil associations, and the Court of the Queen of England was not purer in tone than that of Mysore under Chamaraja Wodayar. He was devoted to his family, and of a cultured and refined taste, taking special pleasure in European music and in works of art. He was also diligent and conscientious in attending to business. He had travelled much and been thereby brought into intercourse with most of the leading men in India, who were impressed with his high character.

Another, a missionary, lamented, "Others will look further and mourn the loss to the State of a Ruler who was so sympathetic that he was touched with the sufferings of the lowest and poorest and made many a kindly effort to relieve them, and who at the same time was anxious to introduce every reform that would make his State the first in India. In this he has been ably seconded by his two Prime Ministers, Rangacharlu and

Princess Jayalakshammanni, Sri Vanivilasa Sannidhanadavaru, Prince Krishnaraja Wodayar, Princess Chaluvajammanni, H. H. Chamarajendra Wodayar, Prince Kantheerava Narasaraj Wodayar, Princess Krishnajammanni.

his successor, Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, the present Dewan, one of the ablest men in South India. The great prosperity of the State testifies to their success."

Two days later, on the 30th December, it was announced to the people of Mysore that the Government of India were pleased to sanction the succession of His Highness Krishnaraja Wodayar Bahadur, the eldest son of the late Maharaja. "Pending the issue of orders on the form of administration to be finally approved as that best suited for the period of minority, the administration of the State will continue," the announcement added, "for the immediate future in the manner in which it is now conducted under the Dewan, Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, K.C.S.I. The Dewan will ask for, and follow the advice of the Resident on all matters of importance and, so far as it is practicable and desirable, he will consult the wishes of Her Highness The Maharani Vani Vilas Sannidhana, C.I."

The Viceroy, Lord Elgin, addressed the following *Kharita* to the Young Prince: "My Honoured and Valued Friend, At the time when the melancholy death of His Highness Sri Chamaraja Wodayar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., Your Highness's father, occurred in Calcutta, I conveyed at once to Her Highness, Your mother, as well as to yourself, the sincere sympathy which was felt both here and in England with Her Highness's family in consequence of so un-toward a catastrophe. I have already made known the approval given by the Government of India to your succession to the Chiefship of the Mysore State. I now formally confirm that approval,

and assure you that, if you are fitted by character and ability when you are qualified by age to assume so high and honourable a position, you will be entrusted with the Ruling powers so well discharged by your father. A grave responsibility devolves meanwhile upon the British Government in supervising your own education and the Provincial Government of the Mysore State, and this is a matter to which I have devoted anxious thought. Happily the present circumstances are auspicious. A fitting central authority must be provided during Your Highness's minority. The Government of India by conferring upon Her Highness Maharani Vani Vilas, C.I., the dignity and position of Regent of the Mysore State, mark in a special manner their confidence that they will find in Her Highness, in the Minister who has ably filled the difficult post of Dewan, and in the experienced officials who may be associated with him, the means of continuing under their own special care a system of administration which has stood with success the test of time. I will, in conclusion, assure Your Highness and, through you, Her Highness the Maharani that the Government of India will continue to watch over your interests and those of the Mysore State with a jealous regard for the welfare of both. My endeavour will be to secure the continued prosperity of the State. I sincerely trust that Your Highness may prove worthy to fill the place of your lamented father, whose untimely removal I cannot cease to deplore. I desire to express the high consideration which I entertain for Your Highness and to subscribe myself Your Highness's sincere friend,

Elgin, Viceroy and Governor General of India. Fort William, the 25th January 1895."

Her Highness The Maharani Regent accordingly appointed a Council of three members to assist the Dewan, Rajadharmapraveena T. R. A. Thumboo Chetty, Chief Judge and Ex-officio First Member, P. N. Krishnamurthy, grandson of Dewan Purniah, and Khan Bahadur Abdur Rahman. Sir K. Seshadri Iyer continued as Dewan till the middle of 1900. The administration was carried on without hitch, and measures already planned and new measures were given effect to by the Regency Council in consultation with the Resident. In 1896 new extensions were opened in the city of Bangalore to house its growing population, in 1897 the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria was commemorated by the Victoria Hospital in that city, and the first hostel was opened for students coming for education from the moffusil. Just then a virulent epidemic of plague ravaged the State, and had to be brought under control by urgent and drastic measures. The marriage of the First Princess was celebrated, and soon after a fire broke out and burnt portions of the Palace. Arrangements were made for its rebuilding on a vaster scale with fire-proof materials, and in 1899 the Cauvery power scheme was launched, water supply schemes for both the cities of Mysore and Bangalore were completed, and a large scale irrigation project called the Marikanive irrigation project for bringing 25000 acres in the dry areas of Chitaldrug District under wet cultivation was taken up. Foreign travel for post-graduate men was fostered, and the scheme

called Damodar Das Scholarships was instituted. Infant marriage was prevented by enactment, recruitment for civil service began to be made by means of competitive examinations. And apart from the voluntary efforts of the Regency Council to give the State's people a progressive administration, the Representative Assembly served both as a check and a stimulant to the administration for achieving measures as approved by the popular body. No doubt the Dewan was a masterful personality, but whatever he wished to execute had to have the approval of the Councillors,—who were certainly not very pliant,—the Maharani Regent, the Resident who had to be consulted in all matters, and also the Representative Assembly consisting of some 300 uncurbable voices.

The Dewanship under the circumstances was an arduous task, and Sir Seshadri Iyer who had held that onerous office since 1883 found the strain beyond bearing, and retired in 1900, and died within a year. It is notable that all the three men of that century, Dewan Purniah, Dewan Rangacharlu and Dewan Seshadri Iyer died within a year of laying down their office. They were men who took their work to heart, and bent their mental and physical energies to the yoke of office, and gave the State a hard pull, a long pull, and a strong pull, with the one object of giving the people of their honest best, and so their life's candle burnt quickly away. Had they been easy-going, and content with show, propaganda and make-believe, their after life might not have been so brief. Sir Seshadri Iyer took leave in

August 1900, actually retired in February 1901, and died in September 1901.

The Maharani Regent acknowledged, "The many reforms which have brought the Mysore administration up to a high level of efficiency are attributable in great part to his talents, fore-thought and resourcefulness."

The death was condoled by the Indian National Congress. Moving the resolution the President of the Congress, Dinsha Edulji Wacha, observed, "In him the administration loses an administrator of the highest capacity and most matured experience. He was the latest instance of the Indian statesman who had shown himself capable of governing fully an indigenous State with as much skill and capacity, judgment and discrimination, tact and sympathy, as some of the greatest of English administrators who have left their mark on British Indian History. Sir Seshadri Iyer has now gone to swell the roll of honour of Modern Indian Statesmen!"

Imperial Lord Curzon spoke of him as one who for 18 years wielded an authority that left its mark upon every branch of the administration, and indicated that the deeds and services of great men should be honoured by public commemoration in the places where they served, not merely as a posthumous compliment to themselves but as an example to others. Accordingly a public memorial hall was built in his name at Bangalore and a statue unveiled by Viceroy Lord Hardinge.

P. N. Krishnamurthy was appointed next Dewan under the Regency, Rajadharmapravina T. R. A. Thum-

boo Chetty, First Member of Council, having retired about the same time as Sir Seshadri Iyer.

His Highness Krishnaraja Wodayar was coming of age. His educational training had been under the care of S. M. Fraser, who was assisted by P. Raghavendra Rao and M. A. Naraniengar and Pandits. The Yuvaraja, Sri. Kanthirava Narasimharaja Wodayar was also trained similarly. In 1900 the Maharaja's marriage was celebrated with Princess Prathapakumari Devi of Vana in Kathiawar. In 1901 the Princes were taken on an instructional tour to Burma and returned. The next year, on the 8th of August the elder Prince's coronation as Maharaja Krishnaraja Wodayar IV was consummated, and the Council of Regency was brought to a close.

The Maharani Regent who, from behind her veil, had taken over the reins from the hands of her departed husband, steered the chariot of State from 1895 to 1902 and handed it over then to her duly trained heir apparent. In the words of an onlooker, "She rose to the occasion with great courage, and, aided by her able Dewan and Councillors, she succeeded in her task magnificently, commending herself to Her Imperial Majesty the Queen Empress and the British Government, while the people all over the State were loud in her praise. If she found the State prosperous and its people contented when her consort died she left the State still more prosperous and the people still more contented when she laid down the reins of Her Regency on the accession of her son to the throne.

A European observer offered the following tribute: "Like our own illustrious Queen Victoria, the Good, Her Highness did not allow her sorrows to crush her, but bent all her energies to the discharge of the onerous duties that rested upon her. How well she has discharged the duties, how nobly she has reared her children, and how earnestly she has striven to make her son worthy of his exalted position, we all know, and not only we here, but all England knows. In my opinion there is no nobler lady in India than Her Highness of Mysore, and her name will go down to posterity coupled with those of the best and greatest women India has known!"

A very respectable administrator, Rajadharmapraveena T. R. A. Thumboo Chetty, who was a Judge and Senior Councillor from 1881 to 1901, and several times acted as Dewan during the Queen's Regency, records the following tribute to her: "In my repeated official visits I was really struck with Her Highness The Maharani's capacity for business, fair knowledge of things, and amiable character. She listened to everything with exemplary patience. Her mind was bold and acute, and whatever be the subject of discussion, she came directly to the point and brought it to a happy completion. Sometimes her enlightened suggestions and direction most agreeably surprised me and afforded ready solution of many difficulties. Her anxiety to promote the highest and best interests of the country was always perceptible. I invariably retired from the interviews I had with a strong sentiment of devotion, as well as admiration and

respect, for Her Highness's high character and intellectual qualities."

The prosperity of the State during the Regency may be summed up as follows—The population increased by some 12 per cent despite ravages of plague during the latter part of the period. The Revenue rose from 180 lakhs to 191 lakhs, and the expenditure from 163 to 179 lakhs. The railway receipts rose from Rs. 5·74 lakhs to Rs. 6·35 lakhs. Land revenue increased from Rs. 96 lakhs to 98¼ lakhs. Royalty from gold rose from 7¼ to 14½ lakhs. Income from Excise rose from 24 lakhs to 33 lakhs. The increase in police protection cost Rs. 9·65 lakhs as against 7·35 lakhs in 1894. The number of hospitals increased from 116 to 134, and of municipalities from 107 to 124. The number of educational institutions rose from 3897 to 4009, costing Rs. 10 lakhs as against 8 previously. The total expenditure on public works from 1801 to 1901 exceeded Rs. 5½ crores, irrigational and major water supply works alone consuming Rs. 2 crores. Thus the progress of the State during the Regency was unbroken, till, at the opening of the present century H. H. Chamaraja Wodayar's elder son, Sri Krishnarajendra Wodayar IV, attained majority and ascended the throne.

Visit of H. E. The Viceroy Lord Curzon

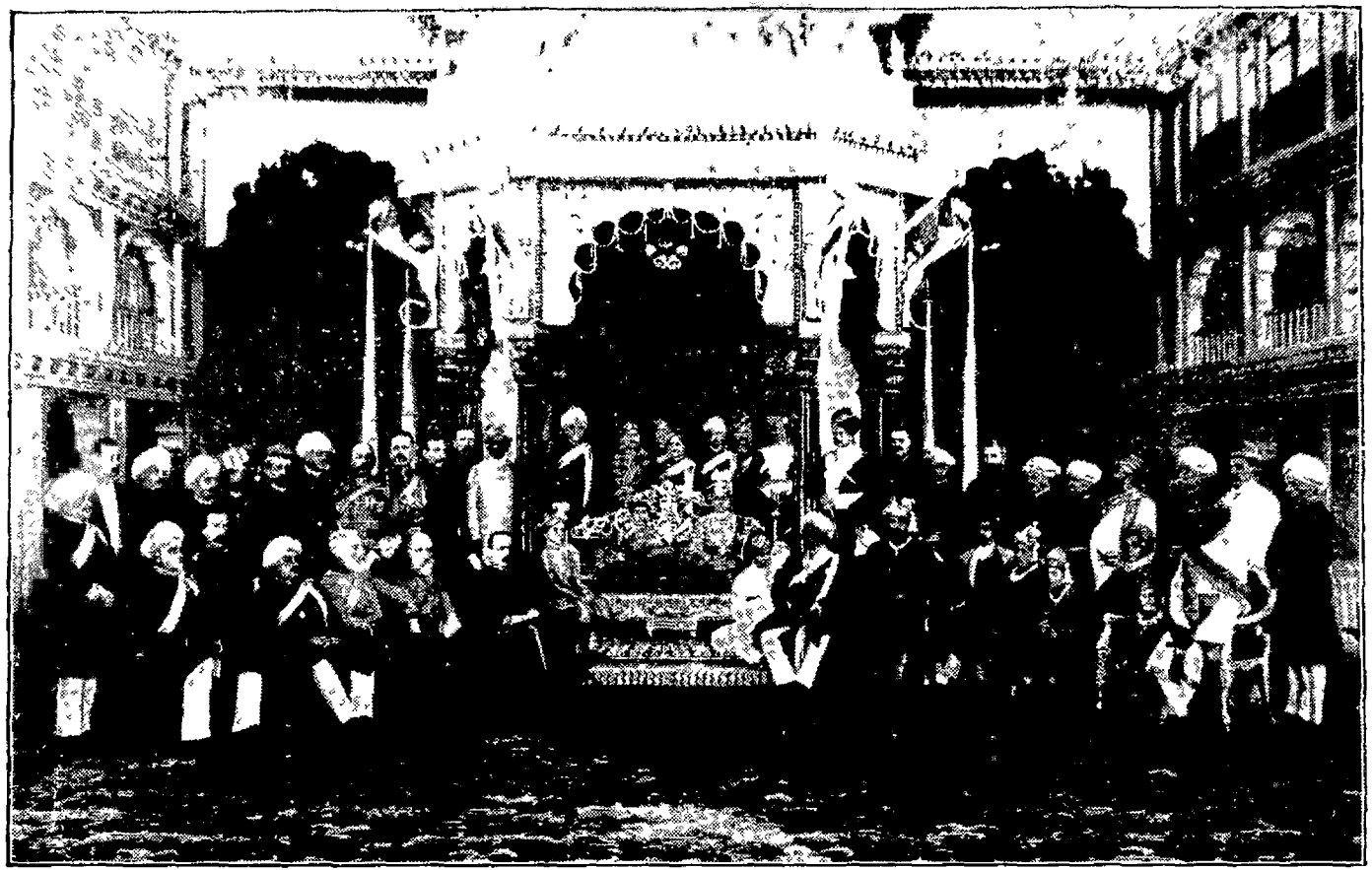
SRI KRISHNARAJA WODAYAR IV

The installation of the young Maharaja with ruling powers took place on the 8th day of August 1902. The Viceroy, His Excellency The Marquess of Curzon officiated at the function on behalf of the British Crown, and addressed these words on the occasion: "The young Maharaja whom I am about to instal has recently attained his 18th birthday. He has passed through a minority of nearly 8 years. They have not been idle or vapid years spent in enjoyment or dissipated in idleness. They have been years of careful preparation for the duties that lay before him, and of laborious training for his exalted state. It is no light thing to assume charge of 5 millions of people, and it is no perfunctory training that is required for such a task. He has made frequent tours among his people. He has studied their wants and needs at first hand. He has thereby acquired the knowledge which will enable him to understand the problems with which he will be confronted. Fortified by this knowledge, his naturally business-like habits and instinctive self-reliance should enable him to steer a straight course. Youth is his, and health and strength. He enters upon a splendid heritage at an early age. May God guide him in his undertaking, speed him on the straight path!"

Two years previously, in June 1900, the young Maharaja had been married with Princess Prathapakumaridevi of Vana in Kathiawar. About the end of that year His Excellency Lord Curzon paid his first

visit to the State, and unveiled the equestrian statue of the late Ruler whose promising career had been prematurely cut off. Next year in 1901 the Maharaja was taken by his tutor on an observation tour of Burma.

Krishnaraja Wodayar IV possessed a balanced temperament, and had cultivated disciplined conduct. Speaking formally on the occasion of the installation, he observed "How important are the responsibilities which now devolve upon me I fully realise, and this it is my intention to prove by performance rather than by words. The inheritance to which I succeed is no ordinary one, and I appreciate what Mysore owes to the administration of wise statesmen, and the care of the British Government under the Regency of my revered mother. But at the same time, I know full well that I cannot rest on the laurels won by others, and that my utmost efforts are needed, not only to maintain for my subjects the benefits they already enjoy, but to press onwards to a yet higher standard of efficiency. How far I may be granted the ability to cope with the problems before me, the future can only show, but it is a comfort to me to feel that I shall for some time at any rate, enjoy the assistance of my well proved friend, the Hon'ble Col. Donald Robertson, as the Resident of the State. And speaking with all deference, I am able to say that I begin my task with some knowledge of its difficulties, thanks to the education I have received from Mr. Fraser, to whom I hope to prove that his labours for the past six years have not been without fruit. This much at any rate can confidently be



Marriage of H. H. Krishnaraja Wodayar with Princess Pratapakumari of Vana

affirmed, that the desire and the effort to succeed shall not be lacking. I have now seen a great deal of my State, with its beautiful scenery and its loyal people, and it would be a poor heart indeed that was not filled with pride and love for such an inheritance. May heaven grant me the ability as well as the ambition to make a full and wise use of the great opportunities of my position, and to govern, without fear or favour, for the lasting happiness of my people."

With the assumption of Rulership by the Prince, the Regency Council was terminated. Both Sir Seshadri Iyer and Rajadharmapravina T. R. A. Thumboo Chetty had retired after piloting the State during twenty years, and P. N. Krishnamurthy, grandson of Dewan Purniah, was appointed as first Dewan in the new administration, with two trusty civilians, V. P. Madhava Rao and T. Ananda Rao, son of the celebrated administrator, Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, as Councillors.

Inaugurating the Council a week after the installation the Maharaja gave this caution: "We are once again at the beginning of a new experiment in Mysore. Whether that experiment is a success or the reverse, will depend greatly on you. Of your devotion to myself personally I am well aware. In your devotion to the interests of the State, I have full confidence. No human institution can be perfect, and the new scheme of administration will no doubt disclose defects of one kind or another. As the fruit of the labours of my Dewan, aided by the advice of my good friend, the Resident, I myself hope and expect much. This object can only

be attained however, by single hearted and unselfish co-operation between Members of Council of the State. It cannot be expected that you will always agree with one another or that I shall always agree with you. It may be that, at times, you may feel soreness individually or even collectively at being overruled. At such times I ask you to give credit to those who disagree with you for being actuated by the same sense of public duty as yourselves, and reflect that, in giving your honest opinion and urging it to the utmost of your power, you have done your duty and retained your self-respect. I ask you to banish all sense of resentment and to address yourselves to the next question before you with undiminished courage and goodwill. If this is the spirit that animates our labours, I can, relying on your mature experience and proved abilities, look forward with confidence to the future."

The Maharaja's reign extended over a period of 38 years, and was one of the brightest in the history of the dynasty. It could be divided into four periods, the first ten years consisting of the Dewanship of Krishnamurthy, Madhava Rao and Ananda Rao, the next period coeval with Sir Visweswaraya's six years of dynamic Dewanship, then the period of Sir Kantharaj Urs's and Sir A. R. Banerji's Dewanship lasting eight years, and then Sir Mirza Ismail's Dewanship from 1926 to the end of the reign.

The first period was characterised by steady progress on the old lines, the next was marked by a vigorous impetus to all-round development, the third

was marked by financial anxiety and recovery, and the fourth by enlightened improvement on various lines.

During Sir P. N. Krishnamurthy's time efforts were made in the field of village improvement, the work of restoration and improvement of tanks and channels connected with irrigation was attended to, and steady improvement was made in providing facilities for State education.

The Prince of Wales, Queen Victoria's heir, visiting the State in 1906, observed in response to His Highness's welcome, "If any proof were required of the wisdom of the policy of 1881 which restored to your father the Province of Mysore after 50 years of British administration, it is surely to be found in the contentment and prosperity which the people of Mysore enjoy under the Government of Your Highness. It is interesting to hear of the many enterprises, notably that of the Cauvery electric works, and the general policy of irrigation and public works. Under the lead which we may expect from such a capable and enlightened Ruler as our kind host, with the assistance of statesmen of the type of the late Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, your Province may look forward with confidence to making still greater strides."

The Representative Assembly was called regularly every year and discussed public needs and affairs of State freely. Opening its session in 1903 the Maharaja hoped that it would prove a valuable adjunct to the administration, and help to promote the contentment and well-being of the people. He complimented the

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representatives on their self-sacrifice and devotion to public duty, especially as they came from long distances and exposed themselves to risks of plague.

Within four years after the commencement of the reign the Maharaja was the recipient of the title of G.C.S.I. from the Imperial Sovereign, reminiscent of the "Raja Jagadev" conferred on Chikkadevaraja Wodayar by Emperor Aurangzeb. The public of Mysore presented a congratulatory address to His Highness in that connection and spoke gratefully of his rule. In a modest acknowledgment of their tribute His Highness observed, "You allude in your address to this honour as being a fitting recognition of my four years' personal rule. Though I appreciate the depth of feeling which has prompted you to express this opinion, yet I must candidly confess that I cannot altogether endorse it. I feel that there is a very great deal to be done, and that very little has yet been achieved. My responsibility is a heavy one, but I fully realise it, and, as it has pleased providence to call upon me to discharge it, I can only submit to the Divine will. It shall ever be my aim and ambition in life to do all that lies in me to promote the progress and the prosperity of my beautiful State, and the happiness of my beloved people. I can assure you that I shall not spare myself in the endeavour to accomplish this. Neither perseverance nor effort will, I trust, be found wanting in me in fulfilling this aim."

That he honestly endeavoured to fulfil his pledge to the end of his career there is no doubt. It is said of

Emperor Augustus of Rome that he found it of brick and left it of marble. So it can be said of Krishnaraja Wodayar IV that he found his kingdom dark and gave it light, that he found it dormant and made it alive, that he found it plain and left it beautiful!

In 1906 V. P. Madhava Rao succeeded Sir P. N. Krishnamurthy as Dewan. He was a bureaucrat of some stalwartness. During his tenure several measures to improve the public services so as to render them more useful and disciplined were introduced, a system of village Panchayats was inaugurated as a first step towards local self-government, Departments of Public Health and Animal Husbandry were established, encouragement was given to fruit-growing and sericulture, Kindergarten and manual training were introduced in schools, the salaries of teachers were improved, and fees were abolished in village schools.

What constituted Madhava Rao's Dewanship into a landmark was the establishment of a Legislative Council for the enactment of laws in the interests of the public. Previously legislative measures formed part of the duties of the Executive Council consisting of the Dewan and two Councillors, and though no doubt every consideration and attention were bestowed on proposed enactments, it was felt that the character and composition of the Council, the smallness of its members, and the want of publicity in its proceedings did not permit of legislative measures being considered as fully and from as many points of view as was desirable. His Highness therefore approved the enlargement of

the council for making laws, by associating with it a certain number of officials and non-officials, who could bring their experience and knowledge of local conditions to bear on legislative matters.

As in the case of the Representative Assembly at the outset, the members were nominated by Government, but a promise was held out that the elective principle would be introduced before long. The Council came into being on 22nd June 1907.

Another beneficent measure of that year was the holding of an Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition during Dasara, at which industrial and agricultural products of the State and places from outside the State were exhibited, and the use of machinery and implements connected therewith were demonstrated. Formally opening the Exhibition His Highness the Maharaja observed, "It is not to be expected that Exhibitions of this kind should have an immediate and revolutionary influence on the Agriculture and Industries of the country. But they offer to all classes an opportunity of seeing what their neighbours are producing; to craftsmen they are of especial use in indicating the directions in which their skill may be most usefully directed, whilst distributors may learn from them of new markets on the one hand and on the other of new sources of supply. Whatever disappointments may be in store for us, I have no doubt whatever of their educational value, and of their far-reaching influence in the cause of progress. I attach great importance to the policy that we propose to follow of holding these exhibitions annually.

H. H. Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV

Experience shows that when they are held at long intervals, the lessons learnt from the successes or failures of one year are forgotten when the opportunity of profiting by them next occurs. Exhibitors are apt to remember their disappointments and the trouble and expense incurred, rather than benefits gained, and the result is, inexperience on the part of the executive and misdirected energy or apathy on that of exhibitors. It is our hope that an annual exhibition will produce continuity of effort and steady progress on both sides."

Dewan Bahadur V. P. Madhava Rao was succeeded in 1909 by T. Ananda Rao as Dewan. It was during his tenure that an Economic Conference for the purpose of organising the all-round economic development of the State was organised, and there was the advent of Mr. M. Visweswaraya, a remarkable son of Mysore, who was grafted into the Mysore administration from the Bombay service. Ananda Rao was a man of a rigid sense of duty and loyalty, and absolute discipline of conduct. One or two anecdotes about him are interesting. He was the son of Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, Dewan of Baroda, son-in-law of a Dewan, and himself a Dewan. And his wife who was the daughter of Rama Rao, Dewan of Baroda claimed with pardonable pride, that she had been specially favoured by providence in having been the daughter of a Dewan, daughter-in-law of a Dewan, and wife of a Dewan!"

During those years anti-British agitation was very acute in British India, and there was some sympathetic tension even in the States. During Ananda Rao's

Dewanship Rt. Hon'blè V. S. Srinivas Sastry, the liberal leader, was programmed to address a public meeting in Bangalore. The address was banned by the Government, possibly at the instance of the British Resident. Dewan Ananda Rao sought to know from his confidential Assistant what the public thought about it. The Assistant replied that the public thought very ill of the banning. Ananda Rao remarked, " That is what in your opinion the public think. What do you yourself think ? " The Assistant replied that he thought with the public that so considerate and good a Dewan should have acted so, and that his regret was the greater because the Dewan's own father had set a different example under similar circumstances. Asked what the reference was about, the Assistant replied that at one time during Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao's Dewanship of Baroda the Vernacular Press was indulging in a scurrilous attack upon him. The Governor of Bombay finding the Dewan as a fellow-passenger on a train asked why he was not prosecuting the attackers. The great Indian administrator is said to have replied, " Your Excellency, after all, those who revile me are my own country-men. I would rather give them the fullest liberty to abuse me than put them in court. Time will show that I am in the right." Ananda Rao concluded that if the Assistant knew all the facts of the banning he would agree with the action.

During this Dewanship, at the urging of Mr. Visveswaraya, who was Chief Engineer at the time, the Economic Conference was inaugurated in order to stimulate the material prosperity of the State. Addressing

the Conference on the occasion of its opening, His Highness The Maharaja declared, "Here is an opportunity for public work, as to the necessity of which all parties and interests in the State are agreed. The political element which has caused so much bitterness elsewhere has been entirely eliminated from the peaceful work of this organization. We want earnest workers. It is our object to reach all people who desire to co-operate. Those who have brains might organise, those who have money might contribute to the expenses of the movement. The aim we have in view, namely, the economic security and vital efficiency of the people, must appeal to every right thinking person. We want no ornamental members. I hope everyone associated with you will work earnestly and persistently, and that your combined efforts will achieve some measure of progress calculated to be of lasting good to the country. This movement will be what your activities and wisdom may make it. I appeal to you, and through you, to every citizen of the State, to become skilled and capable, and to train your children and children's children in some skilled calling. There is no royal road to success. I hope I shall not appeal in vain if I ask everyone, official or private citizen, to actively promote the objects of this movement."

In 1912 Pradhanashiromani Ananda Rao retired and M. Visveswaraya was appointed Dewan. Thus from Chief Engineer he became the chief architect of the political economy of the State, the first Mysorean to become a Dewan after three generations, the faithless

Dewan Venkappaji of the twenties of Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar's reign being the previous one. Incidentally he was also the first foreign travelled Dewan of Mysore. An intelligence always alert to improve, an earnest sincerity of temperament, an ascetic devotion to duty, a tireless endeavour constantly to improve himself and improve whatever came within his sphere of action, all these ennobling qualities, steamed up by contact with those stalwarts of Indian nationalism, Ranade, Gokhale, and Wacha, with whom he associated during his engineering career in Bombay, made his appointment the opening of a new chapter in the history of Mysore.

His remarks, "It will, I hope, not be regarded as an affectation of modesty on my part if I say that all I have wanted is opportunity for work, and that thoughts of personal advancement have not influenced my action in recent years. With the important duties now graciously entrusted to me by His Highness The Maharaja, I have all the scope for work that I may have ever longed for. I seek no further reward. The pleasure of working for a few years more, of serving my Sovereign and my country, is enough for me. Their interests will be my constant thought, and their approbation, if I am able to secure it, will be my best reward," in reply to a reference to further honours and rewards for him in a public address presented to him on his appointment as Dewan, show his quality as a man.

On his assuming office, he took stock of the country's progress during the thirty years since the accession of Chamaraja Wodayar: "The Rendition of the country

took place on the 25th March 1881, after a successful administration by the British Commission for half a century. Owing however to the terrible effects of the great famine of 1876-78,—the severest through which the State has passed during the past fifty years—the beneficial effects of the British administration were not visible to their fullest advantage till 1881. In the words of Dewan Rangacharlu, that famine 'cost the State 160 lakhs of rupees, involved the Government in debt of 80 lakhs, and withal deprived the Province of a million of its population and crippled its resources for years to come."

"The population of the State, which in 1871 numbered 50,55,402 souls, fell to 41,86,188 in 1881 on account of the famine of 1876-78, and rose to 58,06,193 in 1911, or an increase of 15 per cent over that of 1871."

"The town population which in 1881 was computed at 13 per cent of the total population fell to 11 per cent in 1911, probably for want of sufficient occupation for the people in the towns."

"The population dependent on agriculture which in 1881 was 33 lakhs rose to 42 lakhs in 1911."

"As regards agriculture the occupied area, excluding that of coffee, amounted to 42,13,505 acres in 1881-82 and 74,38,463 acres in 1911-12. The increase is 79 per cent. The growth of agriculture since the Rendition has been extensive but not intensive."

"The total revenue of the State which amounted to about 50 lakhs at the beginning of the last century was

101 lakhs in 1880-81, and rose to 247 lakhs in 1910-11, including what is known as "fortuitous revenue" from the Gold Mines. Land revenue has increased from 69 to 106½ lakhs, excise from 10 to 43·67 lakhs, and forest from 7 to 21 lakhs."

"The expenditure also has more than doubled, *viz.*, from 101 lakhs in 1880-81 to 223 lakhs in 1910-11. The charges against land revenue have increased from 14 to 21 lakhs, excise from a small sum of Rs. 18,000 to over 3 lakhs, forest from 2 lakhs to nearly 7 lakhs, law and justice including jails, from 6 to 8½ lakhs, education (from provincial resources) from 1·50 to 10·53 lakhs, medical from 1·63 to 7·20 lakhs, and public works from 10 to 30 lakhs."

"The Railways which were only 50 miles in 1880-81 rose to 411 miles in 1910-11, and the capital outlay on them in the same period from 25 to 250 lakhs."

"The mileage of provincial roads has nearly doubled since the Rendition."

"Among other public works may be mentioned the extension of channel irrigation in the Cauvery and Kapani valleys, restoration and repairs to numerous tanks, and the construction of two great public works, *viz.*, the Cauvery Power Scheme and the Marikanive Reservoir. The Cities of Bangalore and Mysore were extended and improved."

"The expenditure on education from all sources rose from Rs. 3,91,028 in 1881 to Rs. 18,79,135 in 1911; the cost of education per head from Re. 0-1-6 to Re. 0-5-4.

The school-going population has increased from 53,872 in 1881 to 1,38,153 in 1911 or nearly three times."

"A few industries, small and large, including the Gold Mines of Kolar and Manganese Mines of Shimoga, and a few cotton and other mills have come into existence."

"We have a splendid system of tanks in the country. So actively has the policy of tank construction been pursued in the past that in parts of the country like the Kolar District there is little or no room for new tanks. There is no province in India, perhaps none in the world, in which so many tanks are found crowded into so small an area. We have also in Mysore the pioneer electrical undertaking in India, *viz.*, the Cauvery Power Scheme."

"As remarked by the Governor of Madras a few days ago in a very graceful speech, we reside in one of the most beautiful and picturesque provinces on the face of the earth. There are views witnessed here the like of which are to be found nowhere else in the world!"

Sir Visweswaraya had distinguished himself as Engineer in Bombay, and was invited to Mysore as Chief Engineer by Dewan Ananda Rao. His coming was the coming of a live dynamo. He took every occasion to din into Mysoreans the comparative backwardness of their lot, and to urge them to improve themselves:

"Slackness is the worst curse of the country. At first sight, everybody seems to be taking an active part in some common toil; as a matter of fact several persons

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are looking on at the labour of one. The Public Works Department is not altogether free from this taint of slackness. We are too much accustomed to soft conditions. The number of working hours is fewer here than in Europe. There are more government holidays in the State than even in British India. Official employment is sought for because once a man gets into service whether efficient or weak, wise or imprudent, he is practically sure of a competence for the rest of his life. Closely associated with slackness is lack of initiative. 'The more energy we put forth' said an eminent German to me, 'and the more we use our intelligence, the greater the pleasure, provided we do not overdo it to the point of fatigue.' With industry, and by studying technical books and papers, even men of mediocre talent can excel. But unless people consider slackness a disgrace, there is no hope of improvement," he admonished.

Again, "Our efficiency as a country depends not on our better position compared with our past, but on our progress in relation to the other civilised countries of the world, to the other members of the family of nations. For instance the percentage of the entire population actually attending school is as high as twenty-one in some of the advanced countries. In Mysore it is less than two and a half. The expenditure on education in advanced countries like the United States is as high as Rs. 12 per head. Our expenditure is less than As. 6 per head." And, "We should dismiss from our mind the idea that any great work can

be accomplished, that any reputation in the profession can be made, without drill, discipline, and iron labour!"

That was the characteristic of his Dewanship also. As Chief Engineer he organised a systematic development of irrigational and other public works. And he also urged the establishment of an Economic Conference for a thoroughgoing scrutiny of the State's economic conditions and for planning its economic development. The originator of planned economy in the recent past was Russia after its revolution in 1917. But Visveswaraya had conceived planning for national economy a decade earlier than Russia, and was the first Indian to advocate its necessity. As Chief Engineer he had initiated it in the State, and as Dewan he organised and developed it. In that respect he was the economic Messiah of Mysore, and later on played the same role in the wider field of India.

Economic development became his sleeping and waking dream during his Dewanship. He urged officials to feverish efforts to that end, and from the platforms of the Economic Conference, Legislative Council and Representative Assembly he almost lashed the public with words for their insufficient response to his urgings.

Addressing the Economic Conference in 1913, he observed, "The great bulk of our people are uneducated, and agriculture is their chief occupation. They have no industries or trade on modern lines worth mentioning. No country so largely dependent as ours on agriculture can be said to be prosperous. The margin between the ordinary standard of living and distribution among our

people is very narrow. Out of 57 lakhs of people in Mysore, only 3½ lakhs can read and write, that is, only 6 persons out of every 100. In advanced countries it is 85 to 95 persons per 100. In the U.S.A. the expenditure on education is Rs. 14 per head of population. In Mysore it is 6 annas per head. In progressive countries one-fifth of the population are at school. In Mysore one-fiftieth. Although we have a population of nearly six millions, we have no Universities in Mysore. In Canada, with a population scarcely 25 per cent more than in Mysore there are 20 Universities ! "

" The value of manufactured produce in the United Kingdom is Rs. 326 per head or about 30 times that produced in Mysore. The earning power of an average Mysorean is about Rs. 30 per head per annum, an average European earns about Rs. 400 per head per annum, and an average Englishman Rs. 600 to 700. Hitherto thinking work was left chiefly to Government officials. In future it will be shared by both officials and non-officials. Eventually the work should be transferred largely to non-officials."

Permanent Standing Committees of the Conference were elected for Education, Agriculture, and Industries and Commerce, and District Economic Superintendents charged with the task of guiding the people in each District in economic undertakings suitable to the area were appointed.

To the members of the Representative Assembly he quoted Dewan Rangacharlu's remarks in 1881, that " no

country can prosper unless the agricultural and manufacturing industries were equally fostered. When all the world around is making marvellous progress, the 200 millions of people in this country cannot much longer continue in their long sleep, simply following the traditions of their ancestors of 2000 years ago and earning a miserable subsistence, ready to be crushed on the first occurrence of a famine or other calamity." He himself added, "When nations so incomparably richer than ourselves who already possess a connected scheme of national life, are thinking of reconstruction, are we, who have no prosperity at all worth mentioning, to sit still? Shall we remain content with our low standard of life and work, or adopt a policy of development and progress? If the latter, are the standards I have indicated too ambitious in the present circumstances of the country, or are they reasonable and practicable? If the answer to this question be also in the affirmative, you will agree that the present drift and traditional inaction should give place to a reasoned policy and a courageous initiative. We must begin work at once with a changed outlook and new ideals. In these days of open door, free communications and world competition, it would be unpardonable neglect on our part to omit to organise the resources and working power of our people in every walk of life."

And during his Dewanship of six years from 1912 to 1918 he strove with a single-minded devotion, and the complete co-operation of His Highness the Maharaja, to secure the all-round development of the people and the

State. In the field of agriculture, through the Agricultural Committee of the Economic Conference and the Department of Agriculture he fostered improved methods of agriculture and improvement of tanks and canals, and started the construction of the great Kannambody Reservoir Dam which was to bring 120000 acres of dry land under irrigation. In the field of Education, steps were taken to increase the number of primary and middle schools considerably, as also to establish the Mysore University, and agricultural and Industrial schools, and Public Libraries, and a scheme for the award of foreign scholarships for post-graduate studies. In Industries and Commerce, the Industries Committee of the Economic Conference sought to give a fillip to old dying industries, made a survey of existing industries, and investigated the feasibility of starting new ones. The Industries and Commerce Department was set up, a Government Central Industrial Workshop and Weaving Factory were started, the production of silk and manufacture of silk-products was taken up under the auspices of Government, and Government help and advice were offered to enterprising members of the public who came forward to start new factories such as paints, hosiery, cottonseed oil, chrome-tanning and others. Iron smelting as a first step to the production of steel in the State was started at the Bhadravathy Iron Works. The manufacture of Sandalwood Oil to cater to the International market was commenced and proved most successful.

In the field of Commerce an organisation was set up for collecting statistics regarding trade, commercial

correspondents were appointed in Bombay and Madras, a Chamber of Commerce was established, and the Bank of Mysore was inaugurated under Government auspices. The interior of the State was opened up by new road connections as also by several new railway lines to the extent of 231 miles at an outlay of Rs. 85 lakhs.

In a statement before the Economic Conference Dewan Sir M. Visveswaraya declared, "Government are prepared to render State aid to the extent such aid is given in other countries. It may be rendered in various ways, by experimenting and starting industries, and when successful handing them over to private bodies, by guaranteeing interest for a term of years on private capital invested in new or infant industries, by offering *Takavi* loans, by granting subsidies to enable companies to declare a dividend in the first few years, by giving bounties to stimulate production, by starting workshops for experimental work and training artizans, by providing experts at Government cost, by employing foreign skilled workmen to instruct the people in minor industries, by providing expert advice in forming joint stock companies, by purchasing articles required for the Government's use from local manufacturers as far as possible, by collecting and publishing correct statistics, and circulating foreign publications containing useful information, by means of Exhibitions, Conferences etc., by carrying on as State concerns some of the larger industries such as the manufacture of iron and steel, and sandalwood oil, and by exempting new industries from octroi duties and other taxes for a term of years.

Had it not been for this terrible war we might have made much more rapid progress. The times are out of joint, machinery is hard to procure, and the money market is tight. But we hope that with the close of the war better times will come for the Empire and ourselves."

And referring to His Highness's close interest in these matters he observed, "You will be glad to hear that His Highness's Government have made all reasonable financial provision for State aid required. His Highness The Maharaja has been pleased to authorise us to announce that a sum of Rs. 5 lakhs per annum will be available for the next five years for loans and encouragement of industries generally. His Highness has also been very particular that funds should be provided for education to the fullest extent permitted by resources. As I was leaving Ootacamund to attend a Council meeting at Bangalore for the preparation of our budget for the coming year, His Highness said to me "Be sure you do not stint money for education." His Highness watches over your interests with an unceasing vigilance and solicitude, and I know His Highness's dearest wish is that the Government and the people should co-operate on a basis of common ideals and aspirations, and work with mutual goodwill, confidence, and hope for the future."

Efforts were made during the Dewanship to improve medical aid and sanitation, and the Minto Ophthalmic Hospital, well-equipped for treatment of diseases of the eye, was established. Reforms were made both in the Representative Assembly and Legislative Council in-

creasing the non-official element in them and giving them powers of budgetting and legislature.

During his Dewanship also the relation of the State with respect to the Imperial Government underwent a change for the better. Making the announcement in the course of a visit to the State in 1913, His Excellency Lord Hardinge observed, "I have now the pleasant duty of making an announcement, which it is as gratifying to me to deliver, as I trust it will be to Your Highness to receive. Some four months ago Your Highness wrote me a letter in which you took exception to certain features in the Instrument of Transfer of 1881 under which the Government of Mysore was restored to Your Highness's father, and you urged that the document should be revised both in substance and in form, in such a manner as to indicate more appropriately the relation subsisting between the British Government and the State of Mysore. After a very careful consideration of the question, I have decided with the concurrence of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, to substitute for the Instrument of Transfer a new Treaty which will place the relations between us on a footing more in consonance with Your Highness's actual position among the Feudatory Chiefs of India. His Majesty's Government in accepting my proposal, have observed that Your Highness's views on this question were stated with much force and moderation, and that they derive additional weight from the high character and reputation which Your Highness has always borne. With this observation I desire to associate myself in the very fullest

degree, and I look on it as a particularly happy circumstance that it should have fallen to my lot to convey to Your Highness on this auspicious occasion so striking a proof of the esteem and regard in which you are held by those responsible for the Government of this great Empire."

His Highness Krishnaraja Wodayar IV had the good fortune to receive such encomiums throughout his regime.

In 1918 Sirdar Kantaraj Urs, uncle as well as brother-in-law of the Maharaja, was appointed Dewan in succession to Sir M. Visveswaraya. Apart from his close relationship to the Ruler, he was a graduate of the Madras University, and had risen from the lower rungs of the Civil Service. His task as successor to Sir Visweswarya was not only to run the normal administration efficiently, but to carry through the many economic schemes which had been launched by his enterprising predecessor. And well-meaning as he was, not being cast in the mould of Sir M. Visweswaraya, it was rather hard for him to mobilise the finances necessary for meeting both the normal and the capital requirements of the State. Thus while in some respects such as Co-operation, Education, and village improvement, commendable progress was made during his Dewanship, the period proved consistently a deficit period, so that he had to incur a debt of 8 crores and 35 lakhs of rupees.

When Sir Visveswaraya became Dewan in 1911 the assets of the State totalled to Rs. 795 lakhs and the liabilities to Rs. 363 lakhs. The annual revenue was Rs. 255

lakhs that year, and rose by 1918 to Rs. 315 lakhs. Despite increasing expenditure during the period large annual surpluses were realised, totalling Rs. 321 lakhs for the period of his Dewanship. The total capital outlay during the period amounted to Rs. 328 lakhs. But during the first year of Sir Kantaraj Urs's Dewanship there was a deficit of Rs. 11 lakhs in 1920 which rose to 31 lakhs in 1922.

Illness however brought Sir Kantaraj Urs's Dewanship to a premature close. During his Dewanship fees were abolished in Middle Schools, adequate representation for backward communities in Public Services became a recognised principle of administrative policy, and the Legislative Council was broadened with elected representatives from the Districts.

The Maharaja appointed Sir Albion Banerji, a Bengali Indian Civilian who had been Dewan of Cochin, and had been taken into the State Executive Council under Sir Visweswaraya, as Dewan in succession to Sir Kantharaja Urs.

The new Dewàn was faced with two rather acute problems, grappling with the finances of the State which were getting out of control, and the gathering clamour for popular reforms by the contagion of the Montford Reforms of British India. And intelligent and efficient administrator that he was he faced both the problems squarely. By retrenching extravagant items of State Expenditure, by tapping neglected sources of revenue, by scrupulous economy, the scales were turned, and the budget showed a surplus. In 1923 the income was 331

lakhs and expenditure 313, in 1924 they were 333 and 319 lakhs, the next year 345 and 321, and in 1926, 346 and 323 respectively.

The political discontent arose out of the reforms announced in British India by the Secretary of State, Edwin S. Montague and the Governor General Lord Chelmsford, offering a mixed sort of Responsible Government to the elected public representatives. That achievement of the public in the neighbouring Presidencies led to a clamour for similar changes in the Government in Mysore also. Under the circumstances something had to be done, and Sir Albion Banerji placed before the Representative Assembly certain lines of reform, and got a committee appointed with the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Sir Brajendranath Seal as Chairman to suggest the details. The Seal Committee's Report was given a mixed reception by the public. There was even a Reforms Conference in Bangalore at which the recommendations were pronounced unsatisfactory.

However they democratised the popular assemblies to a certain extent and conferred certain new powers of discussion and examination, and were inaugurated in 1924. Addressing a Joint Session of the reformed legislature then, His Highness the Maharaja observed, "You, Gentlemen, represent an enlarged electorate, you have been returned under a wider franchise, and you start with increased powers and responsibilities. The changes which I am inaugurating to-day are fundamental, providing as they do for a far closer association of the people with the administration. I am aware that

a section of my people were in favour of further radical changes, including a wider franchise and increased powers. While fully sympathising with the ideals, I may state that our decision was made after prolonged consultations. Each State must evolve its own constitution, suited to its own needs and conditions and the genius of its people. Without departing from the fundamental principles of development common to all forms of polity, it has been deemed necessary to maintain the character of the Representative Assembly as essentially a body for consultation and reference as well as representation, directly voicing the needs of the people, and with a constitution sufficiently flexible to expand with the expanding political consciousness of the people, leaving to the Legislative Council the more formal work of legislation and other functions usually associated with such bodies."

"It is the ambition of my life to see the people of my State develop self-sustaining qualities, exhibit initiative and enterprise, and take a front rank in all progressive movements and activities in the country. In making our plans for the future, we have got to take note of the tremendous changes of the recent past. India, under the benificent guidance of the British nation, is shaping into a federation of Provinces and States. We in Mysore form, as it were, a nation within a nation. While co-operating with both the Government of India and the rest of the Indian public in measures which lead to the prosperity of the country as a whole, we in our local sphere should promote education and

economic growth to the fullest extent permitted by our resources, so that our people may not fall behind other Provinces and States in the race of progress."

"I would have you apprehend with mind and heart this vital fact, that the interests of Government and people are identical. The happiness of the people is both the happiness and the vindication of Government. Any difference of opinion between the Executive and yourselves, and such differences naturally occur in all lands and all along the road of progress, can refer only to the means, never to the end. You can count upon responsiveness and goodwill in Government, as they certainly count upon them in you. This day, therefore, marks the dawning of a new era in the history of Mysore. My faith in the power and willingness of my people to render patriotic service is finally rooted in experience and you may rely on my abiding sympathy in your aspirations. You will help to build up the prosperity and reputation of our State, and will become custodians with me of its permanent interests."

Thus political clamour in the State was staved off for another decade or two. Sir Albion Banerji held office for two more years, till 1926. That year Mr. Mirza Ismail, former classmate and Private Secretary to the Maharaja was made Dewan. Next year marked the close of 25 years of His Highness's reign, and the occasion was celebrated by the public all over the State with considerable rejoicings.

It may be of interest to assess the progress of the State under the rule of the Maharaja. He was installed

H. H. Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV

in August 1902. His father had been restored on the throne of the Dynasty in 1881.

In 1881 the expenditure on education was Rs.1,59,000, in 1902 it was Rs. 6,99,000, in 1927, Rs. 46,80,000. In 1881 the number of schools and number of pupils were few, in 1902 their numbers were 2200 schools and 91000 pupils, in 1927, 8000 schools and 5,15,000, pupils. In 1881 the expenditure on useful public works was 10,75,000, in 1902 Rs. 25 lakhs, and in 1927 Rs. 60 lakhs. In 1881 public Justice cost the State Rs. 6 lakhs, in 1902 Rs. 10 lakhs, and in 1927 Rs. 11 lakhs. In 1881 protection of life and property cost Rs. 4,50,000 in 1902 Rs. 9,62,000 and in 1927 Rs. 16,25,000. In 1881 hospitals were maintained at a cost of Rs. 1,63,000, in 1902 medical aid cost Rs. 4·88 lakhs, and by 1927 it had been doubled. In 1881 the State's income was Rs. 101 lakhs and the State's expenditure about Rs. 100 lakhs. In 1902 the income was Rs. 191 lakhs and expenditure 214 lakhs, and in 1927 the income was Rs. 340 lakhs and expenditure Rs. 339 lakhs.

Surveying this progressive development, one economist of the Silver Jubilee period wrote, "How those who profess readiness to introduce democratic Reforms if only the people are fit, should, if they are sincere, go about the task of making the people fit, is to be seen illustrated in the progress of Mysore in respect of popular education, provision of medical aid, facilities for agriculture, communication, and railways, agencies for the protection of life and property, and other requisites of well ordered civic life. Where these primary conditions

of decent civilized existence do not obtain, it would be impossible for the people to acquire those facilities of mind and temper without which democracy cannot be anything much different from a howling multitude. The progress of the State during this period will show how the State of Mysore has been performing this necessary preliminary work for the evolution of a sane and vigorous democratic polity."

The imperial spokesman, Governor-General Lord Irwin, visiting the State about the time observed, "On the eve of a most auspicious occasion, the celebration of the 25th anniversary of Your Highness's accession to power, I take the liberty of offering Your Highness on behalf of Lady Irwin and myself, the most sincere congratulations on Your Highness's Silver Jubilee. I was naturally attracted by the prospect of visiting a State which has played so large a part in the history of Southern India from remote times. For many years we have watched and admired the maintenance and development of those high standards of administration which you have inherited from the great British administrators who nursed your State. We have not forgotten the noble services you have rendered to the British Government when the need for service was the greatest, and we are not blind to what Your Highness personally has done to set an example of the fashion in which the Government of a great State should be conducted. Mysore has perhaps a longer tradition of progressive Government than any other State in India, and the Government of India can feel assured that any relief

which they may feel it in their power to give will endure to the benefit of the people of your State. The Government of India have accordingly decided to remit in perpetuity with effect from next Financial Year, Rs. 10½ lakhs out of the annual subsidy you now pay, thus reducing the amount to the sum originally fixed by the Treaty of 1799."

A corresponding acknowledgment from the other end came from the Municipal Council of Mysore, who in an address to the Viceroy, remarked, "We do not claim that it is as a result of Municipal enterprise that the city has been transformed into a Capital worthy of this great State, a centre of culture worthy of the headquarters of the University, and a garden city known throughout India. We must attribute that to the enlightened policy of our Rulers. The new town and the Technical Institute bear the honoured name of His late Highness Sri Chamaraja Wodayar. Our water supply scheme was given to us and named after Her revered Highness the Maharani Regent, and while the splendid Hospital bears the name of the present Maharaja, the whole town carries the impress of his unbounded liberality, his untiring zeal for its improvement, and his artistic taste."

A citizen of Bangalore recorded, "As one looks back on the history of Bangalore, one feels that Kempe Gowda and Hyder occupy honoured niches, but what a glorious place of honour history will assign to His Highness Krishnaraja Wodayar IV, in the making and reshaping of not only Bangalore but of the beautiful

Province of Mysore one can only imagine and imagine vaguely."

A prominent fighter for the grant of responsible Government in the State wrote, "Great indeed is the fortune of Mysore, great in her natural resources of wealth, great in her innate goodness of heart, but greater still and still greater is her fortune in possessing a Ruler of the eminence of Sir Sri Krishnaraja Wodayar IV. May he live long and continue to be the idol of his people, the admiration and envy of the Kings of the world!"

The illustrious and venerable Indian Leader, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, founder of the Hindu University of Benares of which the Maharaja of Mysore had the honour of becoming the first Chancellor, paid him this tribute: "The purity of life of His Highness, his solicitude for the welfare of his people, his desire to see that there was no oppression and injustice, but on the other hand development and progress, his impartiality for all his subjects, his appreciation of whatever was good and noble, rightly entitle him to the loyalty and love of his subjects."

Another Indian of note, Vice-Chancellor C. R. Reddy of the Andhra University, is even more eloquent in his tribute of praise:

"What a transformation Mysore has undergone under him! Life everywhere, activity, hope and aspiration in the entire rural masses, who have till now been sleeping partners in the State's concern merely paying

their taxes and helplessly dependent on the powers that be, slaves of the bureaucracy, the women awake to their rights and interests; modern industries installed and encouraged; local banks to finance and sustain those industries; railways, irrigation projects, electrical power plants, the most forward and systematic educational policy; the mere narration of all of which sounds like the poetry of administration, a lyric in statesmanship!"

The 8th of August 1927 was a gala day throughout the State. There were public meetings to rejoice and felicitate in every township, at which a message from the Maharaja was broadcast to the people. It ran,

"On this day when I complete the twenty-fifth year of my reign, I send my loving greetings to each one of my dear people, with a heart full of solicitude for their happiness. With unceasing effort I shall, while life lasts, endeavour to promote their welfare and prosperity, and I pray that God may give us light and strength to achieve this the supreme object of my life and rule.

Krishnaraja Wodayar."

Elaborating the same thoughts in reply to a public address presented by the public of Mysore at a mammoth assemblage on the same day, he observed: "My beloved people, It gives me the deepest pleasure to receive this address from you, and I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the sentiments of loyalty and devotion to my Throne and Person that you have so eloquently expressed."

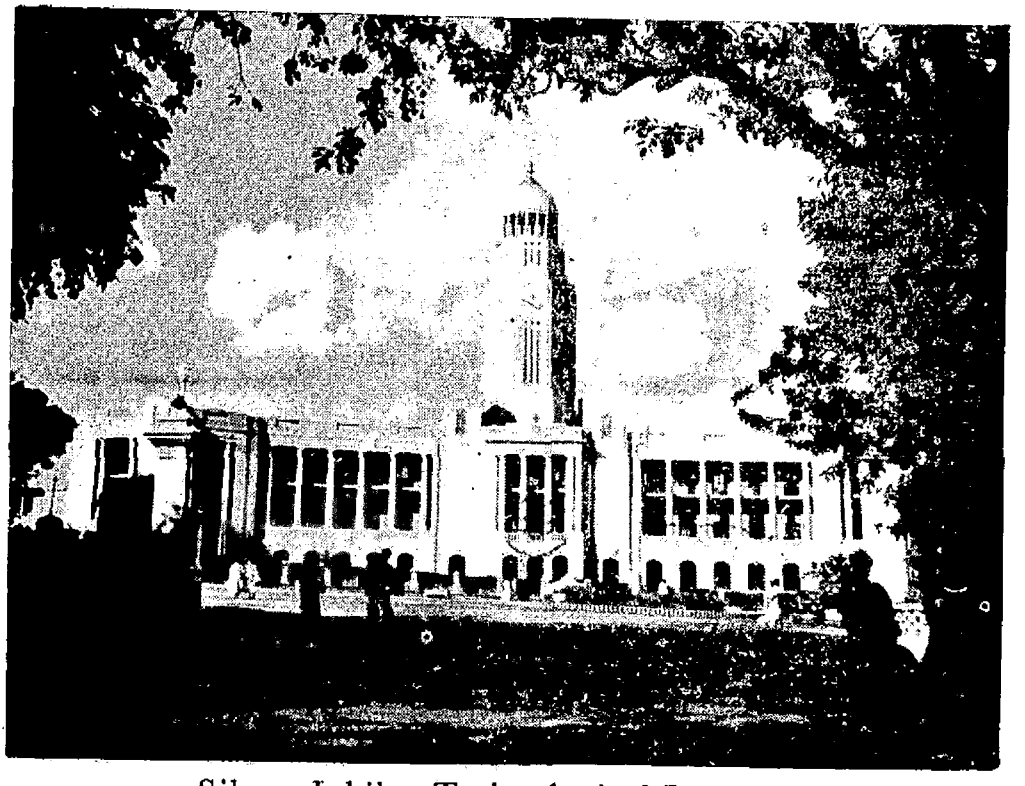
"I thank God Who has blessed Mysore so abundantly in material ways that he has blessed her also with a sincere, modest, liberal-minded and industrious people, and I thank my people themselves, my Government and my officers; that by their hearty co-operation for the good of Mysore, they have earned for her the name of the Model State, and the signal proof of appreciation which we have just received from the Supreme Government."

"I pray that we may all be assisted in the years to come to work together in the spirit of brotherhood for the same good end, so that with an efficient administration, increased facilities for agriculture, industry and commerce, and equal opportunities for all, we may devote our common energies to raising Mysore to a level with the foremost countries of the world."

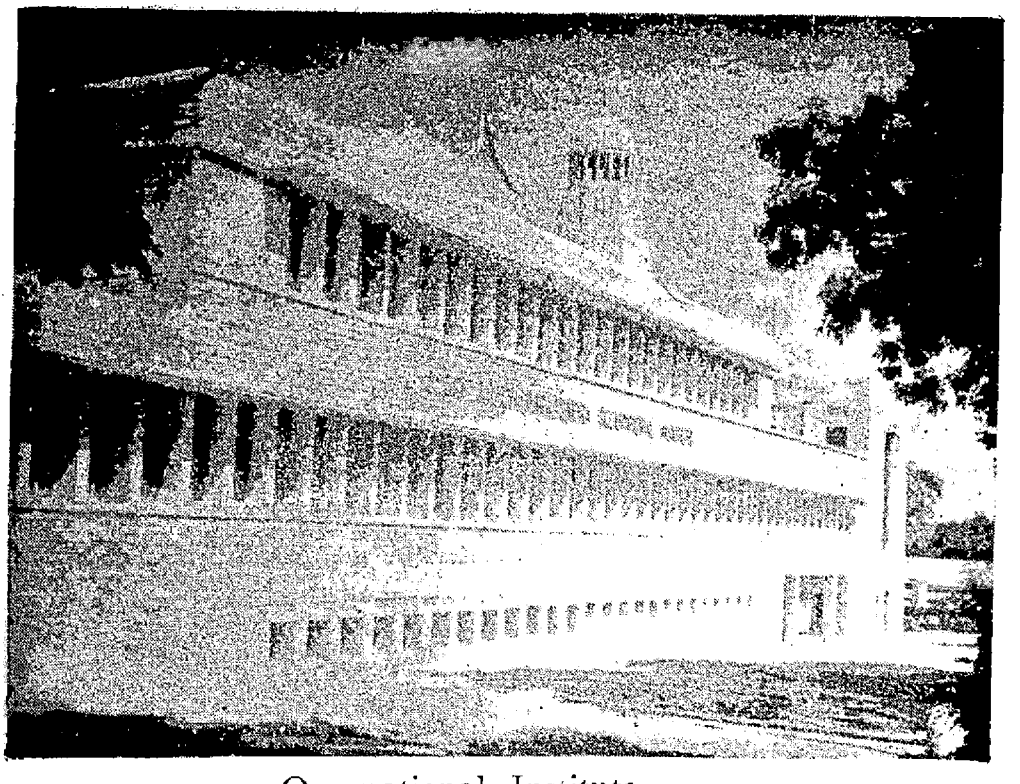
"It is my earnest desire that this spirit of brotherhood should be extended to the continuous improvement of the conditions of those who are less fortunate than ourselves, remembering that all the communities alike are members of my people, and children of our country."

"I pray that a similar spirit may extend itself to the dumb creation, and that we may see animals, and especially those we hold sacred, treated with even increasing consideration for the feelings which they cannot express."

"And I appeal specially to the rising generation to hold before themselves always the ideal of brotherhood and of good citizenship, so that when they come to fill



Silver Jubilee Technological Institute.



Occupational Institute.

our places, they may continue in all good ways to advance and increase the welfare of our beloved motherland."

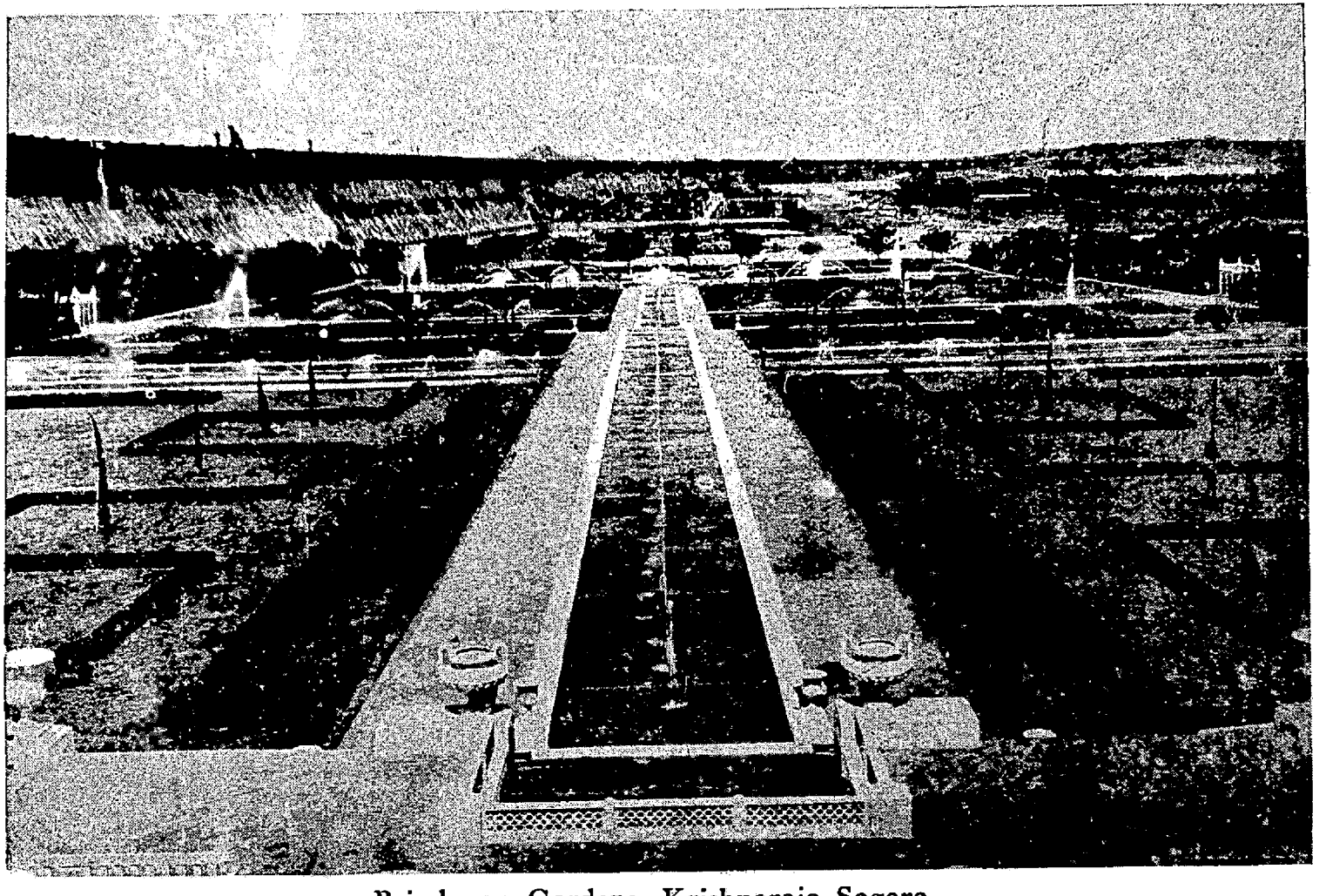
"Finally I send my loving greetings to each one of my dear people with a heart full of solicitude for their happiness. With increasing effort I shall, while life lasts, endeavour to promote their welfare and prosperity, and I pray that God may give us light and strength to achieve this, the supreme object of my life and rule!"

With the help of Sir Mirza Ismail His Highness the Maharaja maintained the even course of his regime during the next one and a half decades. Mirza Mohamed Ismail was a grandson of Mr. Ali Asker, dealer in horses who had been of some help to Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar during his anxious negotiations with the British for restoration. Young Mirza was taken into the Royal School, and endeared himself to the young Maharaja. After graduation he was kept near His Highness's person as Assistant Secretary, and in due course became Huzur Secretary and in 1926, after Sir Albion Banerji, Dewan.

Sir Mirza may be said to have been an accomplished administrator, who secured the goodwill of the public and enjoyed the confidence of the Ruler. He had cosmopolitan instincts, and considerable drive and *bon homie*. He strove to earn a good name for himself as Dewan, and to safeguard the good name of the Maharaja. The lessons left by Sir M. Visveswaraya with regard to efficiency and economic advancement of the people, from

the villager to the townsman, were kept in mind and pursued, with the addition of a sense of beauty and art. While Sir M. Visveswaraya laid stress on industrialisation with zealous endeavour, Sir Mirza Ismail, while carrying on industrialisation, laid accent on the decorative, artistic, and spectacular aspect of things. The illuminated Terrace-gardens at Krishnarajasagara, the illumination of the Mysore Palace on festive occasions, and of the contour of the Chamundi Hills, and the general sense of neatness, trimness, elegance and making things nice to look at, in the City of Mysore as well as in all urban and rural areas, are to be recognised as the manifestation of his personality.

Some of the material progress achieved in the State during the decade from 1922 was enumerated during a banquet speech addressed to the Viceroy Lord Willingdon in 1933 by the Maharaja. He observed, " We have much to show Your Excellency since you last visited us in 1922. We have carried through the project that you had then so much at heart, of a division of the waters of the Cauvery with Madras, and while the Mettur Project is almost complete, the Irwin Canal with a 9000 feet tunnel, is in active working. We have added nearly 50 miles to our railways, though we still cry in vain for the 14 mile link from Chamarajanagar to Satyamangalam. The whole generating station at Sivasamudram has been remodelled to a capacity of 36000 kilo-watts; the addition of another 6000 kilo-watts is in progress; and lights and power have been supplied to nearly two hundred and fifty towns and villages. We have built



Brindavan Gardens, Krishnaraja Sagara.

immense new water-works at a cost of nearly 60 lakhs for the City and Cantonment of Bangalore. Our silk and Soap and Porcelain Industries have all made good progress, and our Bhadravati Works continue to make splendid iron, though, alas! we find it hard to transmute it into gold. We have great hopes of doing that, however, with the production of the sugar factory which is rapidly approaching completion." And then His Highness asked for the cancellation of the Subsidy and the return of the Cantonment of Bangalore to the Mysore Government.

We have another picture in his address to the people of Kolar at the inauguration of Electric Installation there in 1929: "When these lights are switched on they will form another link in the golden chain that will soon, I hope, enrich the State from east to west, from Mulbagal to Hunsur, and will bring you into line in this respect with the most advanced of western communities. I hope that the installation will be the means of bringing you comfort, pleasure and profit, and that you will continue to grow in prosperity until you are able to rival those communities, not in respect of this one matter only, which you owe to the way in which our country has been endowed by nature, but in others also in which you have to win pre-eminence for yourselves in the struggle of life."

The development of electric power during His Highness's reign may be said to have been a main stimulus to the growth of industries in the State. Were it not

for that, the industrial progress of the people which forms a marked contrast to the neighbouring districts of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, such as Bellary, Cuddappa, Anantapur and the Nilgiris, and Dharwar, Belgaum and Bijapur, would not have been possible.

His Highness's own account of the progress is interesting: "It was only in 1882 that electric light was first used on a commercial scale in London, and it was another ten years before the possibility of utilising electric power at a distance from the generating station was accepted as a safe and paying undertaking. In Mysore we are exceptionally favoured in respect of sources of power to be put into harness, and in the genius of our administrators, who have seized upon the opportunity to make this power of the utmost value to the State. Compare with the dates that I have just given you the date 1894, on which Sir Seshadri Iyer first took up the question of the harnessing of the Cauvery Falls at Sivasamudram, and you will see that Mysore was not behind the times. In fact when in 1902 the transmission line from the Cauvery Falls to the Kolar Gold Fields, 93 miles long, and operating at 35,000 volts, was put into service, it was the longest high voltage transmission line in the whole of Asia, and the second or third longest in the world! The success of that undertaking is an eloquent testimony to the boldness of spirit, the farsightedness, and the statesmanship of those who were responsible for it. The work thus auspiciously begun has never halted. Installation has followed installation, and the output of power has in-

creased from 6000 h.p. in 1902 to 67,000 h.p. in 1937! In the meanwhile the uses of the power have been extended far beyond the original purpose of supply to the gold mines. Electric power was supplied to the two cities of Bangalore and Mysore in 1905 and 1908 respectively, and now it is issued to nearly 150 towns and villages. Meanwhile the demand for industry has also increased, and at the present time we have nearly 32,000 lighting installations and nearly 4,000 power installations in operation!"

The growth of medical aid during the reign was described by His Highness when inaugurating the District Hospital at Kolar in 1939: "The opening of this Hospital brings us one stage further towards the completion of a great programme of modernising the hospitals of the State, which has been in progress for the past ten years. In the two capital cities we have adopted the policy of grouping hospitals together into regular hospital towns, and this has involved the reconstruction of both the maternity hospitals which bear my mother's honoured name, as well as other important changes. At Shimoga, Chikmagalur, and Hassan, and now at Kolar, we have reconstructed the District hospitals on modern principles, and in a number of other places that are not District head-quarters, made important new provisions for medical aid to women."

Sir M. Visveswaraya referred during his Dewanship to His Highness's interest in the progress of education. He said that when he was leaving Ootacamund for a Council meeting to prepare the Budget, His Highness

told him, "Be sure you do not stint money for education." Writing at the time of the Silver Jubilee Sir Ramalinga Reddy revealed that when he was appointed Inspector General of Education His Highness gave him the gracious injunction, that "he expected me to spend freely but efficiently, up to a limit of a third of the revenues of the State, on improving and spreading education, and to open up the roads of progress and University education to the remotest rural folk." "It struck me then and it strikes me to-day," Sir C. R. Reddy adds, "that Royalty with him is not a secular privilege, but a sacred mission of service!"

Referring to the Educational work of the Economic Conference, His Highness told them in his Address in 1911, "Education is the sovereign remedy for all economic evils. Much has been done by my Government in recent years by giving increased grants and otherwise to spread knowledge and awaken the intelligence of the people. To mark our sense of its importance, we have given the subject of education the first place in the general programme placed before you."

And he told the Senate of the newly started Mysore University, "I feel that I ought to say a few words as to what I think should be the aim of our University. In the first place we should spare no efforts to gain for the Mysore University the respect of the educational world. This end can only be achieved by maintaining a really high standard of teaching and examination, and also by never allowing that standard to be lowered, however

H. H. Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV at Birthday Procession.

strongly you may be tempted by the lure of numerical results."

The education was not to be one confined to a few subjects and open to a few classes, but education in all its aspects, Primary. Middle, High School, and College, Arts, Sciences and Technology, Commercial, Industrial and professional. There were also special schools for Muslims and Panchamas with fee concessions, supply of books and scholarships, free conveyance to schools for Muslim girls, and free hostels for boys and girls of the Depressed Classes. Sanskrit education was thrown open to all classes. And Women's Schools and Colleges were improved and increased.

The popular constitutional bodies, the Representative Assembly and Legislative Council met periodically as per schedule, and considered administrative matters, both of policy and execution. But a body of persons reflecting the Indian National Congress which in the British Indian Provinces was seeking to wrest the Government from the British, kept on an agitation for Responsible Government in the State. A skeleton Congress body existed in the State doing propaganda for the Indian Congress, and in 1928 a Mysore State Congress, without any connection with the outside body, was organised. Then an organisation of non-brahmin leaders known as the " Prajamitra Mandali " which had worked for securing proportionate representation for non-brahmins in Government service and in education, gave rise to a people's party with less defined communal aims, and in 1934 became a People's Federation, which in turn

in 1938 became a regular Mysore Congress aiming at the same kind of reforms as in British India and pursuing the same modus operandi.

It was somewhat of a troubled sea in which the Dewan Sir Mirza Ismail had to steer the ship of State. His Highness's own views in the matter were unclouded and unreserved. Replying to an Address by the District Board and Municipal Council of Shimoga in 1932 he observed, "You, Gentlemen of the District Board, have referred in your address to the large degree of freedom that has been granted in Mysore State to local self-government bodies and popular institutions. I should like to assure you that I regard the association of the people with the Government as a vital element in the success of any public enterprise. It is my earnest hope and desire that the closest possible association should exist between my people and Government, each feeling that it is a part of the other, both working whole-heartedly in the fulfilment of their common purpose, the happiness and prosperity of all who live in the State of Mysore."

As political agitation continued, and the British Indian Government became responsive to the demands of the Indian National Congress, the control of the political Department at Delhi over administrative changes in the State relaxed, and His Highness, on the 6th November 1929 was able to make a Proclamation conceding a large measure of political reforms. He declared, "Whereas the welfare and advancement of my people have been my constant aim and endeavour, and whereas the fundamental identity of interests between my people and Govern-

ment has found satisfactory and progressive fulfilment in the measures adopted by me from time to time, I ordain the following Enactment."

The Enactment lowered the qualification of voters both for the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council, it reduced the qualification for candidature, increased the number of representatives to 310, and enlarged the powers and scope of the Assembly. The membership of the Legislative Council was raised to 68, it was given an elected majority, 44 places being filled by election, it had also the right of electing a non-official President and Deputy President. And as a crowning measure, His Highness declared, " My Executive Council will in future consist of my Dewan and not less than four ministers, of whom it is my desire that not less than two should be non-officials selected from among the elected members of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council, such Ministers being eligible to hold any portfolio of the administration." He concluded with the words, " Under the Divine blessing and guidance, may the measure now inaugurated serve to promote the abiding happiness of all classes of subjects ! "

While thus seeking to allay discontent even among a section of his people, by conceding their political aspirations, so far as they lay within his power, the Maharaja was not less thoughtful of their well-being under the new set up which was coming into being in British India. So early as 1918 he presented a memorandum to the Viceroy which declared, " It is important to us

that the Government of India should be an efficient and responsible Government because they exercise supervision over our States; they administer the external affairs of India, commercial services and other matters in which Indian States are jointly interested; we are also affected by their legislation in regard to fiscal, commercial and other matters concerning the whole of India; and they administer funds amounting to about 7 crores of rupees contributed by the States in the shape of tributes, customs, salt-tax, etc." Therefore he suggested that in the future Indian constitution, "The Viceroy will, as heretofore, occupy commanding position as the representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor, and he will be helped by an Executive Council or Cabinet; there may be a Legislative Assembly or House of Representatives, drawn entirely from British India, which will have the right of considering all questions which relate to British India as a whole; a Second Chamber may also be established consisting of representatives from both British India and Indian States to consider only or chiefly questions of an All-India character. As regards questions which effect British India and Indian States in common, the proposals made above will give the latter an effective voice in the shaping of imperial policy which they lack at present. The representation of Indian States in the Imperial Legislature will ensure that imperial questions are discussed from all points of view including that of the States. Responsible Government for India will be incomplete if provision is not made for the co-ordination of Indian States."

It was a farsighted statement which seems to have borne fruit before our eyes. Subsequently in 1931 when there was a Round Table Conference in London for finding a solution for the Indian political problem, the Dewan of Mysore, Sir Mirza Ismail, was a delegate on behalf of the State. Lord Sankey on the occasion paid tribute to the Maharaja's administration in the following terms: "His State is not only a pattern to India, but a pattern to the world!"

Thus the Maharaja had won a good name not only in his State, not only in India, but also in England. Everyone who knew him, every one who had heard of him, respected him as a good King, and respected him also as an honourable and virtuous man. He kept his racing, polo, and other kingly interests within limits, he was a patron of painting, music and literature, he had temperate and well directed tastes, and was dignified in his deportment. He was kind, tolerant, religious, and dutiful.

Addressing the graduates of the Benares Hindu University as its First Chancellor in 1919 he remarked, "I would impress on you that you should endeavour to combine in your lives a real sense of religion with true culture; to believe that you owe a duty to God and to your fellow-men, and to aim at faith without fanaticism, deference without weakness, politeness without insincerity, and above all, integrity of character in thought, word and deed."

The description would seem to fit the Maharaja himself most aptly. He was calm and equable, doing his

duty conscientiously, and accepting the results philosophically. He was a dutiful son to his mother. He paid his daily devotion to God with unfailing regularity. Within the State itself he fostered devotion among all communities, and gave his countenance to the renovation of Hindu, Christian, Muslim and Jain places of worship. He left no famous place of Hindu Pilgrimage unvisited, however remote and inaccessible. He visited Amaranath in 1918, and in 1925 in a pilgrimage to Badrinath, he actually walked 150 miles of hilly tract from Nainital in 13 days! In 1930 he made a pilgrimage to Kedarnath, and in 1931 went to Mount Kailas, home of the Ganges and generating centre of spiritualism. And it is said that in visiting sacred pilgrim centres, in bathing and making oblations in religiously renowned waters, in offering worship in far-famed shrines before magnetic Deities, whatever spiritual good or salvation he sought for himself, he sought also for his beloved subjects.

It is said of young Wilhelmina, when prospective Queen of Holland, that once she looked out of a carriage at an eddying mass of faces and asked, "Do all these people really belong to me?", "No Dear," her Queen-mother replied, "*You* belong to all these people."

That was the spirit in which Maharaja Krishnaraja Wodayar IV began his reign in 1902, and maintained it immaculate throughout the fairly long period of his reign till his unforeseen death in August 1940.

It would seem that during the last few years His Highness did not enjoy the best of health. His mother,

H. H. Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV offering oblations at Manasa Sarovar near Mount Kailas.

the Maharani Regent Vani Vilas Sannidhanadavaru whose good work during the minority of the Maharaja was of outstanding merit, after ailing for a long period died in 1934. The experience had proved a strain on the Maharaja's sensitive mind. His health began to be affected, and under medical advice he took a trip to Europe in 1936. Leaving Mysore in the last week of June, he sailed from Bombay in a steamer in which separate accommodation was provided for the royal party to live on orthodox lines. In the hotels where he had to stay in Europe it was also the same. During the tour of three months, he visited France and Great Britain, Germany, Hungary, Austria, Switzerland and Italy, and early in October he returned to Mysore.

He must have enjoyed the trip, and his observation of things in Europe should have given him ideas for increased service for the welfare of his people; but political agitation tied his hands, and when its solution was found, there came the death of his only brother, H. H. the Yuvaraja who died in March 1940. Only two public functions were attended by him thereafter, the Mahamastakabhisheka, or lavish anointment and ablution of the image of Gomatheswara at Sravanabelagola in March, and the Silver Jubilee of the Kannada Sahitya Parishat in June, and on the 3rd August he passed away in the Palace at Bangalore, not full of years, but certainly full of honours!

So ended a noble career. The people of the State were stunned, and the intelligentsia of India mourned the sudden passing of a noble Indian, and the noblest of

contemporary Indian Rulers. It was a shock to his saintly consort, Her Highness the Maharani, a shock to the young Prince, his nephew, to whom he had been a second father, a beloved mentor, and a great guide, and a shock to the Dewan, Sir Mirza Ismail, who had held the reins of the State for fifteen years as Dewan with wider powers than any enjoyed by his predecessors. He was a philosophical King, and perhaps he met the end philosophically, without regret and eager to meet his Maker with a clean soul, and offer Him in person the worship that he had been offering to His earthly emblems during fifty years.

The Tree of the Yadava Dynasty had borne many fine fruits and fine flowers. He was of the finest. Thirty-eight years is a long reign judging from the average length of Kingship in history, and it is possible to pick out aspects of a reign which would lend themselves to criticism. But man being an erring mortal by design, and living in a world which is prone to evil, Prince as well as peasant has to be judged not by errors which he may inadvertently fall into, but by the amount of his effort to steer clear of the pitfalls and keep to the straight path. That Sri Krishnaraja Wodayar IV did keep to the straight path both as a man and as a monarch, it were vain to deny. Mounting the sacred throne in 1902 he declared, "I have now seen a great deal of my State, with its beautiful scenery and its loyal people, and it would be a poor heart indeed that was not filled with pride and love for such an inheritance. May Heaven grant me the ability as well as the

Dewans of Mysore, 1882 to 1940.
Sir K. Sheshadri Iyer, Rajadharmapraveena
T. R. A. Thumboo Chetty, Sir P. N. Krishna Murthy,
V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., T. Ananda Rao, C.I.E.,
Sir M. Viswesvaraya, Sir M. Kantharaja Urs,
Sir A. R. Banerji, Sir Mirza M. Ismail.

ambition to make a full and wise use of the great opportunities of my position and to govern without fear or favour for the lasting happiness of my people!" He was a believer in Heaven, and it would seem that Heaven hearkened to his prayer!

His end may be said to have marked the Diamond Jubilee of Modern Mysore. From 1881 was a period of continuous prosperity in its history. And during two thirds of that period H. H. Krishnaraja Wodayar IV reigned over the State. He did his best to promote the welfare of the people and increase their happiness, and when the results were exceptionally bright, he rendered thanks to God, and did not put on airs and take the credit to himself. Writing to an admirer a little before his death, he remarked, "The whole world is full of sorrow in these troubled days, and we of the older generation must seek our comfort in looking back to happier times when we had the world before us, or forward to the days when we hope the new generation will bring order out of the chaos which our generation has allowed itself to slide into."

That was his conclusion after a successful and universally acclaimed reign of forty years! Thus he raised his kingship from the mundane to the philosophical, and became worthy of the respect of his fellow-men as much for his lofty personal qualities as for his distinguished achievements as a monarch.

H. H. Krishnaraja Wodayar IV had no children. His younger brother H. H. the Yuvaraja, Kanthirava

Narasimharaja Wodayar, had predeceased him by a few months. The latter's son Prince Jayachamarajendra Wodayar, succeeded to the throne vacated by the death of his uncle. And he now reigns.

His Highness Kanthirava Narasimharaja Wodayar deserves our meed of praise for his beneficent activities for the people of the State. Born in 1888 his education was gone through in the Royal School for some years, and then he was sent to the Rajakumar College at Ajmer. As he fell ill there within a few months, he was got back to Mysore, and further educated in the Royal School. In 1910 his marriage was celebrated with a daughter of Dalvoy Devaraj Urs, a prominent and enlightened State Nobleman. In 1913 he was deputed on a European tour, and on his return Sir M. Visveswaraya, who was Dewan, told the Representative Assembly, "One of the most hopeful signs of awakening and progress of the country, is the example set to us by the visit of His Highness the Yuvaraja to Europe. The Yuvaraja who has been travelling abroad for the past six months, with a staff of three officers and a young gentleman of the Ursu community, has just been welcomed home with great warmth and enthusiasm. In his travels in Europe the Yuvaraja spent a life of ceaseless toil, visiting numerous institutions and studying the varied activities of the countries he passed through. From all sources we learn that he met with a cordial reception wherever he went, and he has come back to us, leaving pleasant memories of his visit behind him, rich with experience and an ardent desire

H. H. Kantheerava Narasaraja Wadiyar

to help in the uplift of the people. The people of Mysore are actually proud of a Prince who has shown such unusual enterprise at his age in travelling both East and West in search of knowledge and culture."

Not long after, he was appointed Extraordinary Member of the Executive Council. Referring to it in the Assembly, the Dewan observed, "The Yuvaraja, as you are aware, worked for some time as Military Secretary to His Highness The Maharaja, but the post offered too limited a field for his abilities, and His Highness therefore decided, after the Yuvaraja's return from the European tour, that he should be appointed an Extraordinary Member of the Council. The Yuvaraja has now held that high office for about eight months, and though it is not for me to appraise his work, I cannot refrain from expressing the admiration of a colleague for the soundness of judgment and the breadth and freshness of view that he brings to bear on questions which come before him."

In the year 1915 the Imperial Government made him a "Grand Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire," and in 1918 conferred on him the honorific of "His Highness." In 1919 he became the proud father of Prince Jayachamaraja Wodayar, named so in memory of the victory of the Allies in the First World War.

In the subsequent years he was a frequent visitor to Europe, and when he stayed in the State took active interest in the promotion of such beneficent movements as those of Co-operation, Scouting, Red-Cross, Child-wel-

fare, Housing, and the Welfare of the Depressed-Classes, and was also Pro-Chancellor of the Mysore University. He was keenly interested in all social work, and gave his warm support to numerous movements tending towards the social welfare of the people of the State.

A glimpse of his personality should prove interesting to our readers. The London Press, referring to him as a conversationalist, said that "he often contributed words, which if spoken in the House of Lords would have been front page news." An African Prince was struck with his intolerance of snobbery, and said that "His Highness seemed to symbolise the union of what was best in East and West."

His speeches scintillate with picturesque thoughts and fine expressions. Invited to open the Eighth All India Oriental Conference—he gave them the following brief but vivid picture of Mysore through the ages: "A fair country, like a fair lady, generally has a more eventful history than her less favoured sisters. And Mysore is no exception to the rule. We have cromlechs, dolmens, and rude stone implements belonging to the paleolithic age. There are many beautiful spots associated with great Sanskrit epics. It was Rama's arrow that made a great fissure in the Yadugiri hill. The water-fall at Chunchanakatte enshrines the bath of Sita. Tradition tells us that the Bababudan hills were formed from a portion of the Sanjiva Mountain which fell from the hands of Hanuman as he was flying to restore Lakshmana to consciousness. Bhima the terrible tore Bakasura in twain on the French-Rocks hills and

slew Hidimba on the Chitradurga. The sage Gowtama performed penance on a rock in the sacred Cauvery near Seringapatam, while Agastya had a hermitage at Kalasa, Parasurama at Nanjangud, Jamadagni at Chandragutti, and Rishyasringa at Sringeri."

"In the historical period we have records of the Mauryan and Satavahana Empires, of the wars between the Pallavas aud Chalukyas, between the Hoysalas and the Yadavas. It was a minister of the Ganga Empire that gave us the largest monolithic statue in the world, the Gomatha image. We have relics too, of the Vijayanagar Empire, of the rule of Bijapur and Golkonda, of the Mughal Governorship at Sira, and of the Mahratta Jagirs at Bangalore and Kolar. The city of Seringapatam has a history stretching back through the ages, and under the Mysore Kingdom it became a centre of learning."

"We can show you also the premier monastery of the great Shankaracharya at Sringeri, the place where the large-hearted Ramanuja found asylum from the persecution of his king, the many *Mathas* founded in pursuance of the tenets of the devout Madhva, and many relics of the reformer Basaveswara. Our Oriental Library can show you over 11000 valuable manuscripts, and our Archaeological Department has published more than 10000 inscriptions and is conserving some 200 ancient monuments."

"Nor are we altogether neglectful of the modern arts. Here you will find master musicians like Vidwan

Subbanna, Vasudevacharya and Venkatagiriappa, who have won the admiration of Southern India, while the Indian styles of painting and sculpture have also their honoured representatives in artists of fame like Mr. K. Venkatappa and Mr. Siddalinga Swami, and technical institutions are doing what they can to revive the ancient craftsmanship, and to develop in modern work an ancient simplicity of form and design."

Following is a fine summing up by him of the purpose of Government: "We are told that it is the whole business of Government to remove trouble. If we remove the causes of trouble, we prevent troubles coming to pass. Three of the chief causes of trouble in this world are dirt, disease and drink. There is no more potent way of removing these than by enabling the victims of them to establish themselves in comfortable homes, where dirt is easily dispelled, where disease is not fostered by filthy conditions, and where the attractions of the home are such as to overcome the lure of the drink-shop."

The following message to his countrymen broad-cast from Bombay on the eve of his last voyage to Europe exemplifies his extensive culture and broad humanity: "I feel that I must, on this occasion, give expression to what has for some time past been paining me very much, namely, that latterly my countrymen in India have been quarrelling frequently on what are put forward as religious issues, and magnifying them into a colossal menace. In the early centuries when Hiuen-Tsiang and Fahien visited our ancient Buddhist Universities, and when

H. H. The Yuvaraja and Party on a visit to H. H. The Pope at Rome.

Nestorian and Syrian Churches were established in Hindu India, the teeming millions lived in tolerance and amity. Even in the times of Akbar the Great and Jehangir, it was so. The mosque at Fatehpur Sikri, built in the early part of the sixteenth century, is a monument to the unity of all faiths. If you visit that mosque to-day you will find a harmonious blending of Saracenic and Hindu styles in architecture. The prayer slabs are here and there inscribed with Hindu script. Jehangir himself was the product of Hindu-Muhammadan unity and culture. Raja Birbal's eminence in the time of Akbar, and Jehangir's confidence in Raja Gokuldas, and their patronage of art, music and literature, which were all essentially Indian, afford abundant evidence that unity of faiths is not an empty dream, but can be a practical reality."

"In our Mysore we have mosques, temples, churches, and viharas erected for devotion and consecration of man to the service of God. Sacred spots like Dattatreya Peetha in Bababudan mountain range, show that Hindu and Mussalman can worship with equal fervour and devotion at one and the same shrine. Let us therefore work for mutual understanding between the two great sister communities, the Hindus and the Mussalmans, which is so essential for India's political and economic regeneration. Let us try to remember that these and other religions are alike in all fundamentals, and that the differences, if any, pertain only to matters of external form, such as rituals and ceremonies, which are comparatively of little consequence in enabling an

individual to lead a pure, devotional and spiritual life. We must not forget that different religions are needed to suit different temperaments. They are all like the several notes blended in some rich chord of harmony, or like the various colours of the rainbow comprised in God's sunlight, so that in reality all religions together declare the One Truth of God, and raise their many voices in unison to proclaim the Divine love and glory." Let your tolerance and bounteousness be free and abundant like nature's own, a confluence of love and service, like the mighty commingling of holy rivers. As Lincoln, the great Liberator of America and a supreme humanist, said in his famous second Inaugural Address, 'With malice towards none, and charity to all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in for the achievement of understanding and unity.' Awaken your hearts and consciousness with intellectual and spiritual understanding, with wisdom and love which will ever bless our motherland with unity, peace and happiness. We are at the dawn of a new era, and of the renaissance of the ancient glory and culture of our motherland. Let us therefore consecrate ourselves to a life of harmony, goodwill and understanding, full of faith in religious tolerance and unity, and go forward with zeal and courage to secure, as equal partners in the British Commonwealth, our rightful place among the great nations of the world, for the lasting benefit of humanity!"

He pre-deceased his brother, Maharaja Krishnaraja Wodayar IV, by a few months. Thus the mantle of

Prince Jayachamaraja Wadiyar, Princess Sujayakanthammanni, H. H. the Yuvaraja, and Princess Vijayalakshmammanni.

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Kingship fell on the young shoulders of his son, Prince Jayachamaraja Wodayar.

Perhaps it may be said that Sri Jayachamaraja Wodayar, when he became Ruler, was more highly educated and more widely travelled than all his predecessors. He was born in the year of victory of the First World War, 1919, then since the Maharaja had no son, and his birth had been long delayed, he was hailed as a Godsend. The Royal family rejoiced, and the people of the State as a whole rejoiced in no less measure.

As the child grew into boyhood, his uncle took zealous interest in his education. A Royal School was started, in which along with certain companions drawn from the people he was introduced to various studies, and when he matriculated and reached the college standard he was entered into the Maharaja's College in Mysore, which thus became thereafter appropriately named.

We think it was a wise thing to do. He could have been sent to a Rajkumar College in the north, to learn a few sports and a few mannerisms. He could have been sent to an English University, and learnt the things of doubtful worth which Indian students usually pick up in English surroundings. But by a wise chance, or wise decision of his elders, he was made to mix, in the most formative period of life, with the mass of the undergraduates drawn from all ranks of life in the State. As a gesture from the Ruler to the people it was com-

mendable. As a preparation for the Prince himself for Rulership it was splendid.

Curiously however, the Prince was not a Prince aloof and stuck up, but a Prince-Charming, who treated the rest of the schoolmates as equals, and conducted himself like a commoner in the midst of commoners. He was at ease himself, he set the professors at ease, and he rendered the students delighted. He was as modest and shy and quiet as the rest of them, and as studious as the best of them. His innate gentlemanliness and no less his generosity could manifest themselves when funds were raised by his fellow-students. His would not be the first contribution putting to shame the others by its bulk. After the others had put down their figures by free choice, he would contribute in full the balance required to make up the amount necessary for the purpose concerned!

He graduated with distinction at the end of four years. Afterwards a smart English Civilian was appointed his companion, and with his guidance studied the various branches of administration in the State. In 1937 he was deputed on a tour to the Far East, and two years later he accompanied his parents on a tour of Europe. But as the war clouds which had been gathering burst then, he had to return after a brief stay. A few months later his father, H. H. the Yuvaraja, died, and not long after, his uncle, the Maharaja, also passed away. He was then anointed as Maharaja on the 8th September 1940.

SRI JAYACHAMARAJA WADIYAR

It was an honour that came with unexpected suddenness, but by training and temperament he had been fitted to bear its responsibilities. In the proclamation issued to the people on the occasion of his Coronation the young Maharaja said, "My beloved people, In succeeding to the throne of Mysore I follow a great Ruler who loved you all, and who won your love by his love of God, by his wisdom, his graciousness, his humility, his faithfulness to duty and his Kingly greatness. It is now for us to dedicate ourselves to the fulfilment of his great task. And we shall succeed in fulfilling it if we so consecrate ourselves in the spirit of unity and self-sacrifice that we can win through. In this spirit I look upon this ceremony of ascending the throne of my ancestors as a dedication of myself, my life and all I have to the service of of the people of Mysore. But I am fully conscious that no effort of mine can succeed alone. I need your help and your co-operation, your confidence and your love. May God grant me light and strength in the discharge of the sacred duty entrusted to me, and His blessings in abundance rest on every hearth and brighten every home in Mysore!"

Since then many a popular leader has taken over the reins of administration in many places, but we know none who has made more graceful or as grateful acknowledgments and appeals.

At the time of Sri Krishnaraja Wodayar's death, Sir Mirza Ismail was Dewan, and had held that office from 1926. Under the changed conditions, his continuance

was not happy, and he retired in a few months. N. Madhava Rao, the Senior Councillor, was appointed Dewan. Near his person the young Maharaja had Sir T. Thumboo Chetty, son of the Rajadharmapravina T. R. A. Thumboo Chetty who had been Senior Councillor from 1881 to 1901, as Private Secretary, whose good knowledge of State affairs and sober counsels were of value.

One of the first acts of the Maharaja was to implement the Reforms sanctioned by his predecessors just before his demise. New elections were held, and in June 1941 His Highness inaugurated the new Legislative Council and Representative Assembly.

Addressing a Joint Session of the two Houses His Highness observed, " The reforms that are now to come into operation are thus a natural corollary to the honourable record established by these bodies, and a recognition of the experience they have gained in Parliamentary methods of business. At the same time, I am sure that these reforms will be recognized as a generous response to the desire of important sections of the people for increased participation in the administration of the State. It will be useful to recount a few of the special features of the reforms which are being inaugurated today: wider franchise in the case of both Houses; substantial increase in their strength; larger representation for special interests and minorities and for women; representation of minority communities by direct election; extension of the life of each House from three to four years; provision of a statutory elected majority

of nearly two-thirds; in the Legislative Council power to elect a non-official President and Deputy President for the body; increased power for the Representative Assembly in the matter of legislation and control of State expenditure; and freedom of speech and immunity from arrest, under certain conditions, for members of both Houses. Above all I am sure you will appreciate the decision to give a place to the elected representatives of the people in my Executive Council with regular portfolios of administration. For my part I am convinced that a variety of experience on the part of my Ministers can only add to the weight and value of the advice that I receive from my Council. It is now for us all, working together with the welfare of our State as our united objective, to take steps to ensure that our future is worthy of our past."

During the first two years of his reign the Maharaja toured the Districts of the State, acquainting himself with the local wants, and trying to meet them. He announced a special grant of Rs. two lakhs for the improvement of the malnad area, as also the construction of a new general hospital and of a regulated market at Davangere, and a water-supply scheme for Chitaldurg. The establishment of an Occupational Institute or Polytechnic and an Institute of Indian Medicine was taken up in Bangalore.

It was not a normal time, and a considerable portion of the State's attention and energy were commissioned by the suzerain power for material aid in the Second World War. His Highness and the Government contri-

buted Rs. 50 lakhs for the war, and raised Rs. 10 lakhs from the public for the War Fund. Rs. 8 crores and 50 lakhs of State Funds were invested in War Bonds. A vessel of the Royal Indian Navy, a squadron of aircraft, and a fighter-plane went as gifts from Mysore for the war. The First Battalion of the Mysore Infantry and two more battalions were sent for overseas service with the British troops. Facilities were afforded to raise a Transport Company in the State. Twenty-six industrial concerns in the State were engaged in the manufacture of war requirements. The training of 2500 war technicians was arranged. Land, buildings, and timber required from the State were placed at the disposal of the army. In 1942 the National War Front was introduced in the State to disseminate war information and maintain public morale. In June 1943 the Maharaja opened a War Services Exhibition in Bangalore which attracted 5 lakhs of visitors in eight days. A Welfare Committee and a Welfare Club for Air Force personnel, and a Victory Hall for the use of troops, sought to manifest society's interest in the welfare of military men.

Protection to the State's public during the war was organised by large scale air raid precaution arrangements, and by the formation of Civic Guards, and their economic interests were looked after by measures to prevent inflation, by grant of dearness allowance to official and industrial labour, and by securing food supplies to the public.

36 major irrigation works, costing Rs. 95 lakhs and bringing an additional 52000 acres under irrigation,

have been sanctioned and taken up, and in order to expedite these works a separate Chief Engineer for irrigation was appointed.

We have seen that " Don't stint on Education " was the behest of the late Ruler to his Dewans and Directors of Public Instruction. The phenomenal growth of Education under the present Ruler's as yet short regime may be seen by the growth of the Government's Educational grant from Rs. 54 lakhs in 1940 to Rs. 2 crores and 75 lakhs in 1948. The number of Primary Schools have risen from 6,400 to 9,800. The number of pupils in those schools has risen from 2 lakhs 31 thousand to 4 lakhs 80 thousand. The number of middle schools at the close of the previous reign was 319 with 59,000 pupils. And there were 46 High Schools with 10,900 pupils. Now there are 1,175 Middle Schools with 1,23,000 pupils and 151 High Schools with 31,700 pupils. Schools have been started for imparting what is called basic education, and under a scheme of Adult education 4,500 classes are being held at a cost of Rs. 5 lakhs.

The works of other departments, Medical, Health, Police, Judicial, Agricultural, Industrial and Rural welfare have continued apace.

In 1942 the Benares Hindu University conferred the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws on the Maharaja, who kept himself fully active,—opening utility institutions, laying foundation stones of public buildings, and opening sessions of All India Conferences which met within the State, such as the All India Economic and

Political Science Conference in 1940, the Indian Historical Records' Commission and Indian Academy of Sciences in 1942, the 91st District Rotary International in 1942, the All India Olympic Games and the Indian Central Advisory Board of Education in 1946, and the All-India Educational Conference in 1948, and others since.

The title of G.C.S I. was conferred on His Highness by the British Sovereign in 1945, and in 1946 he was made G.C.B. or Grand Commander of the Order of Bath.

May 1945, saw the end of the European War which had been crushing mankind for over seven years. The world was given time to nurse its wounds and think in terms of prospective peace. Celebrating the day of victory on 14th May 1945, His Highness in a message to the people observed, "The collapse of Germany represents not merely the military defeat of an enemy, but the triumph of humanity over inhumanity. We know only too well what peril threatened civilisation during the last six years, what misery and privation people have undergone in many countries of the world, and what sacrifices the allied nations have made to provide men and materials for bringing about the defeat of the enemy. On an occasion like this, we cannot but recall India's proud share in the winning of victory. But the feeling uppermost in us at the moment is not one of undue exaltation, but of thankfulness. Our first duty on this occasion is to express our thanks to the great military forces of the Allied Nations for their achievements, which are without parallel in history, and to the people of all ranks

H. H. Jayachamaraja Wadiyar.

in the allied Countries for their fortitude and self-sacrifice which show heights to which righteous men and women can rise in spite of adversity. Let us proceed in this spirit of thankfulness to celebrate the victory that has now been won, and address ourselves to the task that still lies ahead. The war against Japan remains to be concluded, and calls for an equally great effort on the part of everyone. The successes achieved in Burma and in the Pacific give us cause for hope that the day is not far off when Japan will share the fate of its erstwhile partners. We may look forward with confidence to meeting again at no distant time to celebrate final victory and the return of peace!"

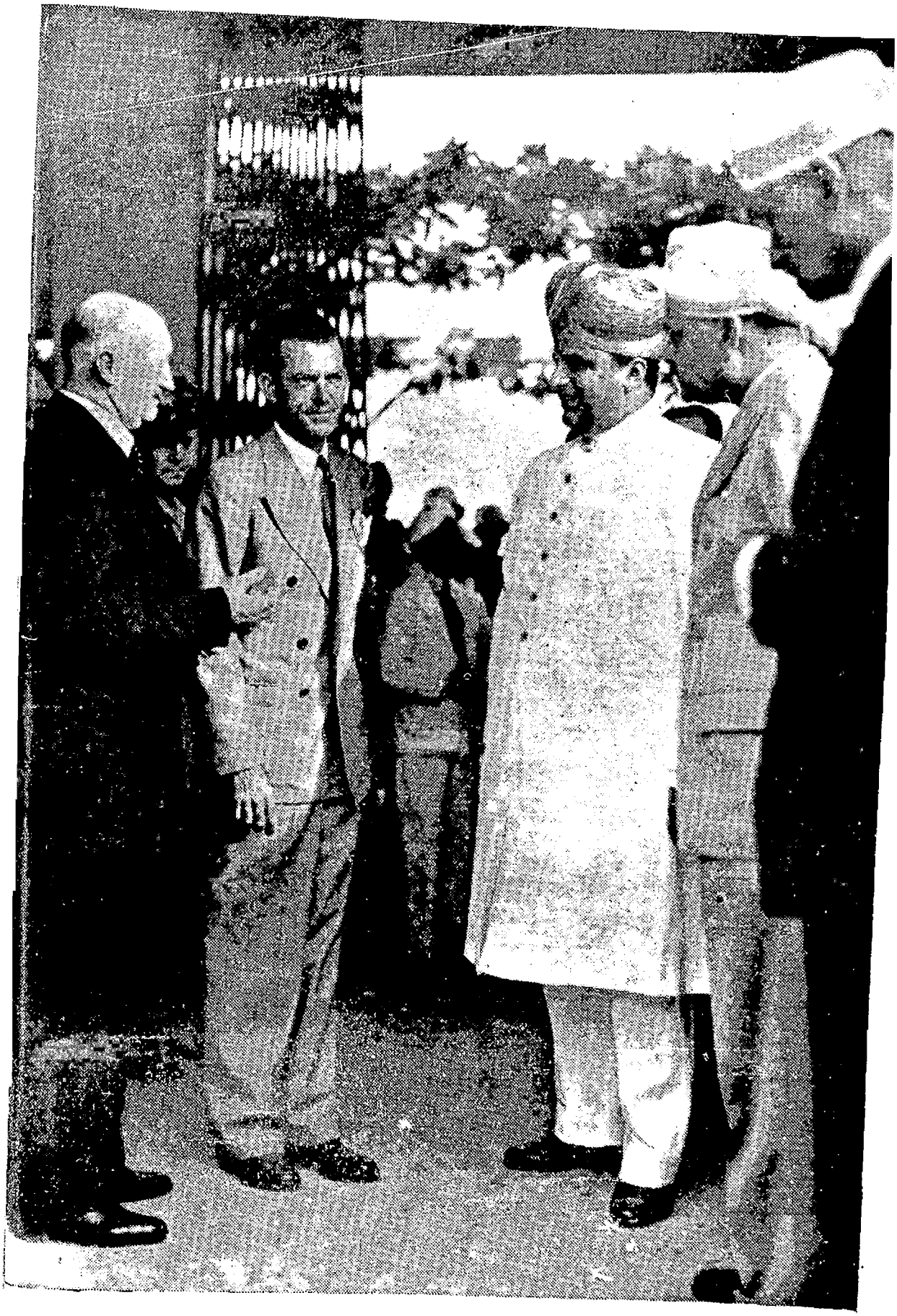
It proved literally true. The advent of the atom bomb brought a lightning end to the war with Japan in Asiatic waters, perhaps the first great war in Asia since the times of Taimurlane and Jengiz Khan.

That the State and its people had played their full part in the war effort was acknowledged by no less a person than H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester, brother of the King Emperor in these words: "I had heard much of Your Highness's famous and beautiful State, with its great natural resources and its progressive spirit, particularly in education, town planning, irrigation, industrial and forest development. Now I know that Mysore's war effort, too, is in keeping with these achievements. I have seen units of the State Cavalry and Infantry on parade. They are splendid troops worthy of their brothers who have fought so bravely overseas. The readiness with which Your Highness and the Government

have offered so many of the resources and facilities of the State for India's war potential is admirable. Gifts of money, too, from Mysore have provided, among other important contributions, a vessel for the Royal Indian Navy and a Fighter Squadron for the Royal Air Force. That is the response to the call of emergency which one would expect from a Ruler and a State with the martial traditions of Mysore, but it is not the less deeply encouraging, and such loyal assistance from the Princes of India sets the seal of certainty upon the victory of our cause."

The First Reformed Ministry consisting of mixed official and non-official Ministers which had taken office in June 1941, with Pradhana Shiromani N. Madhava Rau as Dewan, lasted four years, and was re-constituted in 1945. In June 1945 Mr. Madhava Rau retired from Dewanship, and Dr. Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, a remarkable South Indian personality, who had been member of the Viceroy's Council and later of the Secretary of State's Council, was appointed Dewan.

The war had left behind many evils. It had not left behind peace and plenty. The public in general suffered from lack of supplies, high prices and want. The political minded among them felt that they were being politically starved. The public leaders in India under Mahatma Gandhi clamoured for Self-Government and the retirement of the British. World opinion looked askance at the imperialist power. The Viceroys, the Marquis of Linlithgow and Field Marshal Lord Wavell,



H. H. Jayachamaraja Wadiyar
on a visit to the Hindustan Aircraft Factory.

found the leaders intractable, and the economic State of the country uncontrollable and verging on wide-spread famine. The British Cabinet, consisting of labourite Ministers, were desirous of placating Indians and meeting their demands as much as they could. Then a high-spirited and dashing young aristocrat, Viscount Mountbatten, Admiral of the Fleet, was appointed Viceroy. With a mixture of bon-homie and impetuosity, he cut India in twain and distributed the strips between Indians and Mussalmans.

As a monsoon squall in the East or West Coast invariably brings about the lowering of storm clouds over Mysore, the political disorders in British India had their counter-part in Mysore also. What was agitation for Self-Government in British India became agitation for " Responsible Government " in the State, and as the months passed it increased in virulence, and the public became mutinous. In view of the happenings in British India, Government's efforts to maintain Law and Order became unavailing, and even students and women indulged in excesses. Things came to a head when the British Indian leaders were handed over the Government of India, and they, from their position of vantage, gave the Government of His Highness the Maharaja no option but to come to terms with the local Congress Party. Meanwhile on the 3rd June 1947 the Viceroy announced the retirement of the British from the Indian Empire, formation of the Indian and Pakistan Dominions, and the lapse of Paramountcy over the States. The States were left to combine with either of the

Dominions at any time on mutually agreeable terms. Accordingly the Cantonment of Bangalore, which had been under British possession for over a century, was given back to Mysore on 17th July 1947.

Thus the connection between Mysore and the British which had commenced two centuries ago when the Madras Governor sought the help of the Mysore Ruler against the French for the succession of the Nawab of Arcot, had been cemented in 1782 by the agreement between Dowager Maharani Lakshammanni and Lord Macartney, the Governor of Madras, and had become most intimate on the fall of Tippu Sultan and the restoration of Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodayar, came to a sudden end on the 17th July 1947, and Mysore became sovereign and independent for a brief period.

But not for long. The British Indian Congress leaders who had taken over the Government at Delhi exercised pressure for the accession of the State into the Indian Dominion. Thus His Highness the Maharaja on the 9th August 1947 executed an Instrument of Accession, " whereby the State acceded to the Dominion of India with the intent that the Dominion may exercise in relation to the State of Mysore such functions for the purposes of the Dominion as may be vested in them, but limited to the extent detailed in the Instrument of accession executed by His Highness."

The next step inevitably was the conferment of responsible Government on the people of the State. For some months previously, the Dewan Sir A. Ramaswamy

Mudaliar, had been holding meetings of party leaders for drafting an agreed Constitution Bill for submission to His Highness. But all that was brushed aside. And on 12th October His Highness signified his approval to an understanding between the Dewan and the President of the Mysore Congress, the terms of which were, " The present Ministry shall be dissolved and a fresh Ministry constituted. The Mysore Congress will make recommedations for the Ministry after consultation with such other parties as may be deemed appropriate regarding Non-Congress Ministers. The Ministry shall consist of not less than nine members, of whom not less than six shall be Congress, and not less than three chosen from parties outside the Congress. The Ministry shall remain in office so long as it enjoys the confidence of the Legislature. The Ministry shall function as a Cabinet with the Dewan, who will continue in office, and act on the basis of joint responsibility in all matters. The decisions of the Cabinet will be arrived at by a majority vote. One of the Ministers chosen from the Congress will be appointed the Chief Minister. The new Ministers shall immediately set up a Constituent Assembly composed of elected representatives of the people, for framing a Constitution Bill for the State based on full responsible Government under the aegis of His Highness. The new Constitution shall come into force on or before 1st July 1948."

In a Proclamation dated the 27th October 1947, H. H. the Maharaja, announcing these decisions, observed, " It is my earnest desire that my people, con-

scious of the great opportunity that has been afforded to them, will work harmoniously, and I am confident that my Council of Ministers will discharge their duties fairly and justly for the peace, progress, and prosperity of the State and its people."

This successful conclusion of the political *Satyagraha* in the State elicited the following commendation from Mahatma Gandhi, who was to India what Mazzini was to Italy, Sun Yat Sen was to China, and Lenin was to Russia. From Delhi he expressed " Satisfaction at the successful termination of the Satyagraha in Mysore State. Mysore had joined The Indian Union. The people there had been agitating for Responsible Government for some time. Recently they had again launched Satyagraha. They had wired to him that they would strictly conform to the rules of Satyagraha and he should not worry about it in the least. Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, the Prime Minister of Mysore, was a widely travelled man. He had come to an honourable settlement with the State Congress. He congratulated the Maharaja, the Dewan, and the State Congress, on the happy termination of the issue. He commended the example to all the other States." Hon'ble V. J. Patel, Deputy Premier of India and Minister of States, was even more enthusiastic. He telegraphed to the Maharaja, " Please accept warm congratulations on the display of wisdom and statesmanship befitting the dignity and responsibility of a Ruler in gracefully recognising the strength of popular will. I have no doubt this generous action will meet with full and appropriate loyalty and

co-operation and will raise the prestige and prosperity of the Mysore State."

The honour of constituting the first Popular Ministry in the State fell upon Messrs. K. Chengalaraya Reddy, H. C. Dasappa, K. T. Bhashyam Iyengar, H. Siddaiya, T. Mariappa, R. Chennigaramiah, Congressmen, and Messrs. Mahmood Shariff, D. H. Chendrashekhariah and Rajasevasaktha P. Subbarama Chetty, other-party-men, with Dr. Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar as Dewan.

With that the history of Mysore under the Yadava Dynasty entered a new Chapter. Personal rule of a benevolent type under the early Kings, developing into rule with the help of advisors, then dictatorship of the Dalvoys and of the Nawabs, restoration of the Dynasty to power, stepping in of the British Commission, administration by Dewans' Official Council by royal appointment with the aid of popular Assemblies, and now Constitutional Rulership with the administration in the hands of a Responsible Non-official Ministry.

The Ministry however was according to agreement, interim. Its task was to arrange for the election of a Constituent Assembly which should prepare a Constitution for the State.

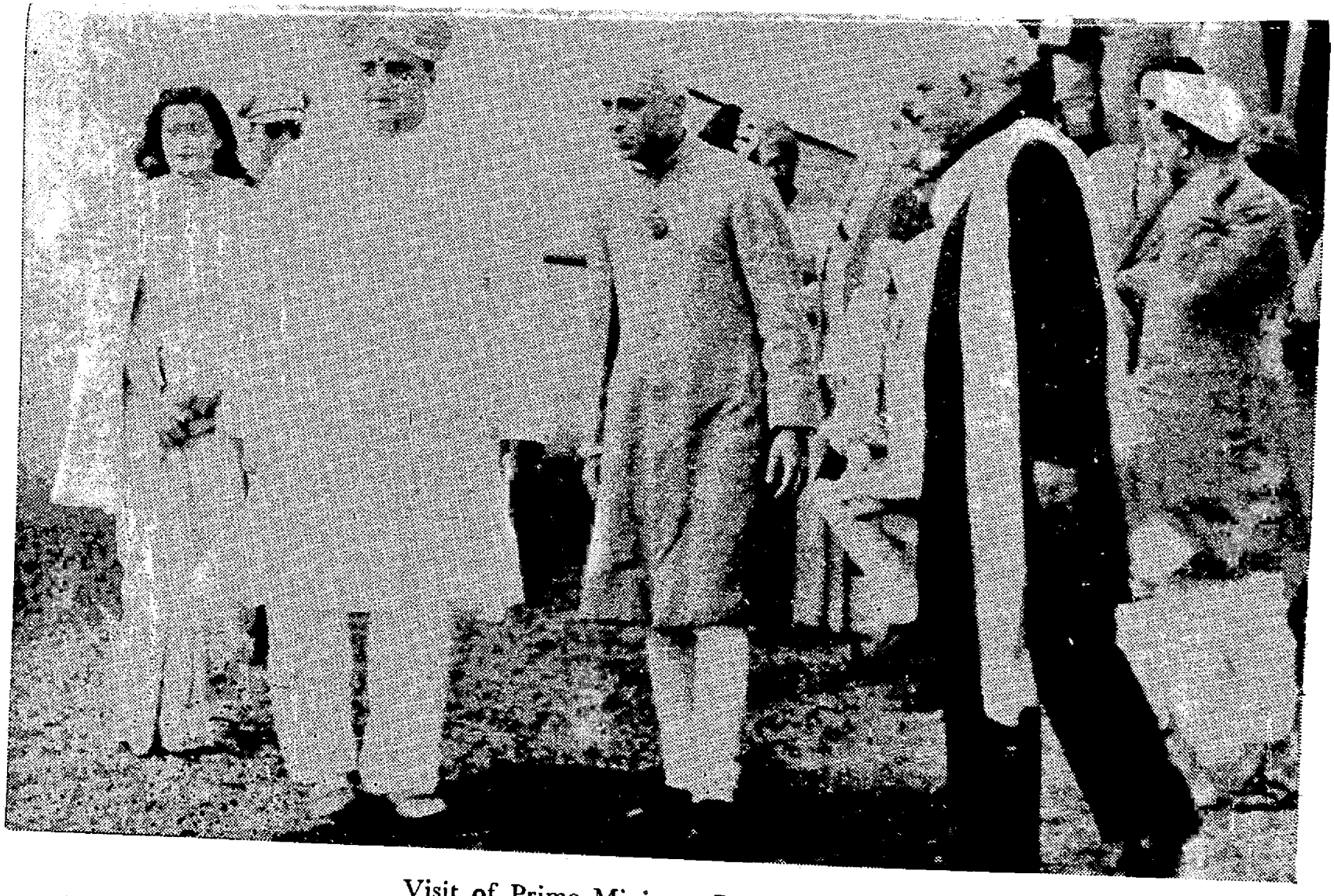
Taking over the administration from the previous mixed Ministry at the end of October 1947, it held elections to the Constituent Assembly, which began its sessions on the 7th April 1948.

Inaugurating that Assembly, the Chief Minister, Mr. K. C. Reddy, observed, " Mysore's progress has been

steady and has been a model to others. It is unnecessary for me to narrate the course of Mysore's political history. The first Representative Assembly was constituted so far back as 1881, and the Legislative Council in 1907. There were instalments of reforms in 1924 and then again in 1941. In the last one decade, however, the people of Mysore urged for quick progress and I may say, paid the price for the same. It may not be appropriate to lift the veil over the past, and apportion either blame or praise. It is enough to record that there has been a happy ending for which every one deserves congratulations and over which there is general joy. The decision to evolve a new Constitution for Mysore on the basis of Responsible Government was magnanimously taken by His Highness the Maharaja last year, and it is in pursuance of that we are meeting here to-day."

The Constitution making, however, could not proceed very far. Before long it became apparent that the politicians in the Central Government expected the Provincial politicians to await their directions, approval, or sanction in many matters, constitution-making being one of them. Therefore the clause in the agreement between the Dewan and Congress President, that the new constitution should come into force on or before the 1st July 1948 remained unfulfilled. The new Ministry however carried on the normal administration of the State, seeking out new avenues of progress.

The Constitution-making deliberations of the Indian Constituent Assembly came to a conclusion at last



Visit of Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru,
Srimati Choudhury, H. H. The Maharaja, Prime Minister Nehru, Dewan Sir A R. Mudaliar

on the 26th November 1949 and took effect from that day all over India. It brought to an end the State Constituent Assembly, and also terminated the lives of the existing Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council in the State. A single body, the Mysore Legislative Assembly, was to be brought into being in their stead with members newly elected therefor. The existing Composite Ministry also was to be dissolved, and a new Cabinet with a single party Ministry responsible to the Legislature was to come into being. His Highness the Maharaja himself was to succeed to the title of " Raja-pramukh ", with limited powers as defined under the new Constitution.

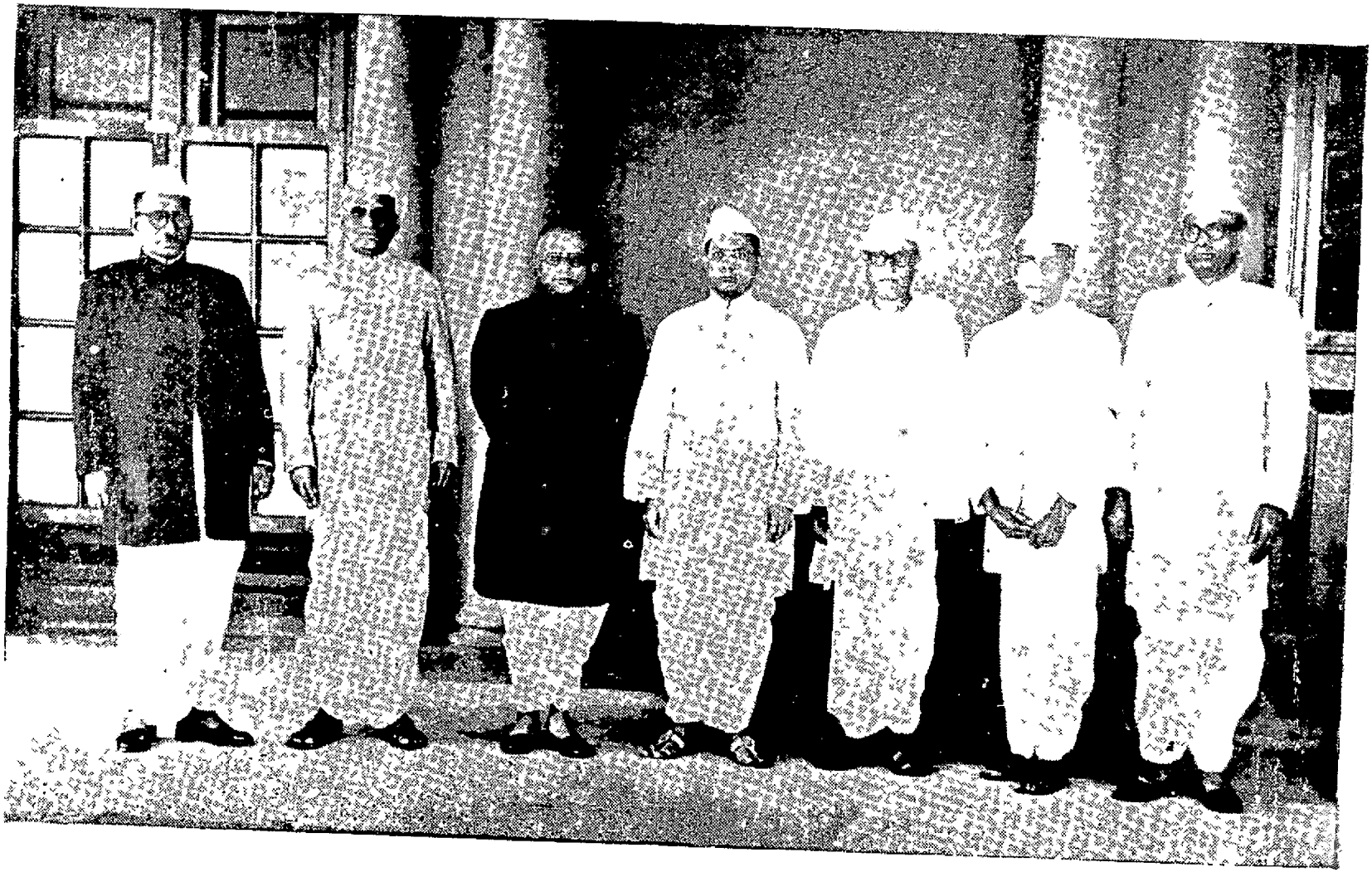
Accordingly the old Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council were dissolved on the 15th December 1949, and on the day of the inauguration of the Indian Republic, 26th January 1950, His Highness assumed the role of the " Rajapramukh " of the Mysore State by affirmation. A few days later, on 5th February 1950, the Chief Minister tendered the resignation of the Composite Ministry, and on the same day, as leader of the Congress Assembly Party, Mr. K. C. Reddy submitted the names of the new Ministry, consisting of himself and five of his old colleagues, dropping the three non-Congressmen, and taking in Mr. T. Siddalingaiya, the President of the State Congress.

Thus in the year of grace 1950 we come to the end of history and approach current politics. It is now five and half centuries since the Yadava Dynasty began its rule over the State, and exactly ten brief years since

its latest scion, His Highness Maharaja Sri Jayachamaraja Wodayar, began his reign. Before we conclude we may take a look at the State as it stands to-day.

It has an area of 29,458 square miles, equal in size to Scotland, and two and half times Belgium. It has a population of over 75 lakhs. It has 2,665 major, and 20,368 minor tanks, and 2,135 miles of channels, 11,30,000 acres of land under irrigation, and 61,34,000 acres under cultivation. It has 49 lakhs of cattle, 269 centres of cottage industries, 433 large industrial establishments, and 10 cotton mills. It has 81,200 acres under mulberry, and produces 3 lakhs of pounds of filature silk worth Rs. 1¼ crores. Its gold mines produce about 1,68,000 ounces of gold and 12,100 ounces of silver. It produces 17,500 tons of sugar, 2,500 tons of pig iron, 23,300 tons of steel, 1,23,700 tons of cement, 2,600 tons of paper, 5,000 tons of soaps, 2,900 tons of fertilizers, 3,700 tons of sulphuric acid, 500 units of electric transformers, and 3,200 gallons of varnishes. It generates 3,036 lakhs of units of electric power, supplying electricity to 225 cities and towns and to 822 irrigation pumps. It has 2,026 Co-operative Societies, and 248 Joint Stock Companies. It has 409 Medical Institutions, and 9,372 Educational Institutions, with 21 Colleges, 90 High Schools, 524 Middle Schools and 8,572 Primary Schools. It has 757 miles of Railways and 5,748 miles of Roads. It has a Broadcasting Station of its own, and 4,700 receiving sets.

That is one picture of the State as it looks to-day as a result of its evolution during the last five centuries. Let us have a look at it from another angle.



The Popular Ministry

Sri R. Chennigaramiah, H. Siddaiya, H. C. Dasappa, K. C. Reddy, (Chief Minister), K. T. Bhashyam Iyengar, T. Siddalingiah, T. Mariappa.

Mysore has the highest water-fall, and the tallest statue, taller than those of Rameses in Egypt. The Mysore Representative Assembly was "the most ancient democratic House in all India." Mysore was the first Indian State to establish a University. It was the first to establish a hydro-electric station in India. Its Gold Mines produce the entire output of gold in India. The sandalwood of Mysore is the best anywhere, and supplies the world-market. Its Iron and Steel Works are the second largest in the Commonwealth, and contain the only charcoal blast furnace in the East. The first spun-silk mill in India was established in Mysore, and its output of raw-silk is the highest in India. Its sugar factory is the biggest single-unit sugar manufactory in India. The electric tunnel kiln in its porcelain factory is the biggest in the East. Its air-craft factory is the first of its kind in India. The flood-lit garden at Brindavan has no rival in the East, and is compared to the Verseilles of the French Emperors. And in the constitutional sphere, as the Chief Minister recently testified, "It is a matter for great joy, it is a matter for gratification that to-day, whether it be in Jodhpur, whether it be in Jaipur, whether it be in Kashmir, whether it be in any other major State, the agencies that they are bringing into existence, the set up that they are deciding upon, are on the lines indicated by Mysore."

The Chief Minister is referring only to the example Mysore is setting for other Indian States. A Provincial Minister, from Orissa, refers to Mysore's inspiration to

other Provinces in India also, in these terms: "The standard of education in Mysore is high. There are enough institutions and workshops to give instruction to its young men in various arts and crafts and in machinery. The Occupational and Technical Institutes, one at Bangalore and the other at Mysore, are institutions unique in kind. The prospect of an army of qualified young men in not less than about 20 or 25 arts and crafts, spreading out into the world, thrills me. There are two Polytechnical institutions to the credit of the Mysore State. How I wish that a few such institutions in our Provinces had been established!"

"The progress of Mysore is due as much to its administrators as to its officers, who are patriotic and whose aim and object is to improve the Mysore State and the people. I find them to be sincere to the core. The several contacts with many of their officers gave me this impression."

"By the time I reached Mysore, another Minister, from the Central Provinces, was already in Mysore. It is no wonder that such a progressive State like Mysore has been drawing to it visitors of eminence from all parts of India. Mysore is a beautiful City. It is a "Garden City." I was struck by the methodical fashion which pervades every branch of the administration of Mysore and the public life in Mysore State. It is an achievement of no mean order."

"Mysore is a premier State with a long-standing reputation for progressive and modern outlook. It has also the reputation for embarking on big development

H. H. The Chancellor of the Mysore University
Conferring Doctorate on H. E. C. Rajagopalachariar, Governor General.

schemes and projects. The purpose of my visit to this premier State is to imbibe and emulate as much as I can. I have fulfilled this object to the maximum limit!"

Perhaps the most authoritative pronouncement on the work of the Mysore Royalty, and the administrative achievements during the recent times, is from the First Indian Governor General of the independent Indian Dominion. Visiting the State in 1948, His Excellency Dr. C. Rajagopalachari remarked, "The beauty of this city is a great example, and an inspiration to towns and cities all over India. I may say without hesitation, not as an old citizen of Mysore State, but as Governor General, and an objective judge, that Mysore is really the most beautiful city in India. I have been feeling it all the time since I came here. In fact I did not get good sleep last night, because I was feeling as if I had just come back after paying a visit to "Fairy land!" The State has now been handed over to a democratic mechinery. Successive, and able, administrators, under His Highness's predecessors have built this Province to an enviable degree of progress and glory. The new Government has taken over the responsibility. If I were here, I would not sleep happily. You have taken over a glorious thing. My colleagues in national agitation and struggle have taken over, I feel, a very high responsibility. It is not easy to maintain the State and keep it up to the level it had reached through the talent, industry, devotion, and patriotism of previous administrators."

It is a tribute about the past, and warning about the future, coming from the highest quarter. Let us hope that with good sense and circumspect statesmanship, the future edifice of the State will be made no less imposing than the past.

We may again recall the pregnant remark of Lewis Rice: "If there be any truth in the observation that small countries with diversified and distinctive physical characteristics have played the greatest part in the world's history, and given rise to its most distinguished men,—Greece, Palestine, England, being quoted as instances, Mysore, it seems to me, may fairly claim a place in the category."

Therefore, without being deemed optimistic, we may close with the benediction: May the many enterprises of the State, may its mechanical, political and social life flourish apace! May its Prince and peasant live in the blessings of peace, and cultivate the life of pure morals, rich emotions, wide sympathies, and noble aims, and thus make the State truly blessed!

Printed by G. S. Josyer, M.A., at the Coronation Press, Mysore.

ERRATA

Page	*Para*	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
25	1	11-12	On sands	On the sands
69	2	4	Severeignty	Sovereignty
75	3	4	French	the French
95	2	7	control to the	control of the
104	1	2	1911	1811
115	1	2	1925	1825
116	1	3	1910	1810
116	2	1	1917	1817
126	1	3-4	would not	could not
129	1	6	1926	1826
135	1	2	1910	1810
146	2	2	1881	1831
148	2	1	remak	remark
156	1	5	1950	1850
157	2	11	Comissoner	Commissioner
210	1	5	Comptroller	Controller
297	1	5	1919, then	1919, when
300	2	2	predecessors	predecessor

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Bangalore
24th Dec '90

To

The Minister
State Archives Department
Vidhana Soudha Bangalore

Sir

As desired by you now I am supplying you a copy of the History of Mysore and the Yadava Dynasty written by Sri. G.R. Gopalaiyer, enclosed. Kindly for obtaining photocopy of the entire Book for your reference. This may please be returned to some office obtaining the photocopy. I have to return the book to my friend who is my neighbour

Thanking You

Yours Sincerely
Sd/-
Sri. Nizamani Ghatge
Jamadar. Mysore

Sd
24/12/90

To)

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(1) ನಿರ್ದೇಶಕರ ಮಾರ್ಗದರ್ಶನದಂತೆ ಕ್ರಿಯಾಯೋಜನೆ ತಯಾರಿಸಿ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾವನೆ ಸಲ್ಲಿಸಲು ಸಿದ್ಧವಿದೆ ಎಂದು ತಿಳಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ

22/12/10

(2) ಯಂತ್ರದ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಕರ ಕಾರ್ಯಚಟುವಟಿಕೆಗಳು P.P.C. ಪ್ರತಿ ತಿಂಗಳು ಸಭೆ ಸೇರಿಯುವುದು ಒಪ್ಪಿದ ವಿಷಯ, ಯಾವುದೇ ಯಸ್ಕ ಕೀಲಿಕೆ ಕಾಲ ಸಂರಕ್ಷಿಸಲು ಮೊದಲ ಆದ್ಯತೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಮುಂದುವರಿಸಲು ಮೊದಲ ಪೆನ್ನಿಸಿದೆ. ಪ್ರಸ್ತುತ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಮಿಕ ಯಸ್ಕ ಕೈಗೆತ್ತಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದು ಮತ್ತು ಕ್ರಮ ಕೈಗೊಳ್ಳಲಾಗುವುದು

22/12

ಟಿಪ್ಪಣಿ (2) ತಮ್ಮ ಗಮನಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಸಲ್ಲಿಸಿದೆ.

22/12/10

ನಿರ್ದೇಶಕರು

22/12/10

T.O)

Bangalore
24th Oct '90

To

The Minister
State Archives Department
Vidhana Soudha Bangalore

Sir

As desired by you now I am supplying you a copy of the History of Mysore and the Yadava Dynasty written by Sri G R Govinda, Mysore. Kindly for obtaining photocopy of the entire Book for your reference. This may please be returned to me after obtaining the photocopy. I have to return the book to my friend who is my neighbour

Thanking You

Yours Sincerely
Sri. Nisargam Estate
Jnanodaya. Mysore

Cu
9/12/90

To)

END

END

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END